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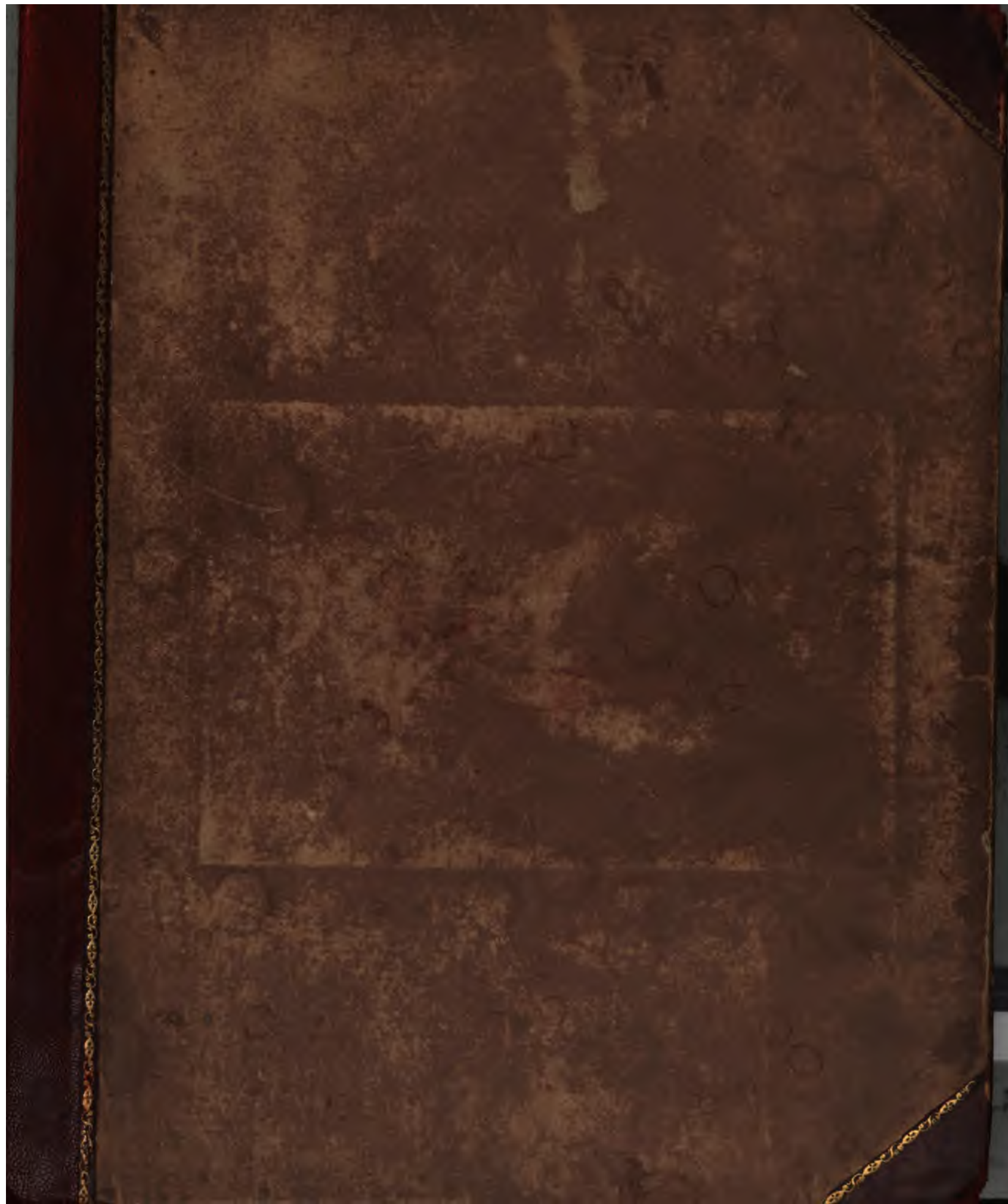
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King Charles the First,

As he sat before the Pretended High Court of Justice.

*Engraved by B. Reading from the Original Picture at Oxford.*

THE  
**HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE;**

COMPRISING  
**MEMOIRS**

OF  
**THE PRINCIPAL PERSONS**

WHO SAT IN JUDGMENT ON

**King Charles the First,**

AND

**SIGNED HIS DEATH-WARRANT,**

**TOGETHER WITH THOSE ACCESSARIES, EXCEPTED BY PARLIAMENT IN  
THE BILL OF INDEMNITY.**

ILLUSTRATED WITH  
**THEIR PORTRAITS, AUTOGRAPHS, AND SEALS,**  
COLLECTED FROM AUTHENTIC MATERIALS.

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By **JAMES CAULFIELD.**

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## INTRODUCTION.

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THE names of fanatic, and malignant, introduced into England, Ireland, and Scotland, a scene of blood and warfare, unparalleled in the annals of the country; that of the sanguinary contest between the Houses of York and Lancaster only excepted. The disaffected state of Ireland occasioned King Charles the First a multitude of vexatious troubles: his attempt to introduce the Liturgy into Scotland,\* and causing the re-publication, and enforcing the observance of the Book of Sports;†

\* When the English Liturgy was attempted to be forced upon the Scotch in 1637, and part of the Common Prayer was attempted to be read from the pulpit, an old woman, named JANET GEDDES, rose, and taking the stool she sat on, threw it at the reader's head, saying, "Away you loon; are you going to say mass at my lug?" A most alarming scene of tumult immediately took place, the church was nearly destroyed. This circumstance seemed to have some effect, in producing the melancholy fate of Archbishop *Laud*, and his ill advised master.

† The puritans cast great blame and odium on the king and clergy, on account of the Declaration for Recreations and Sports on Sundays, which was re-published in 1633, with the following order to Archbishop *Laud*:

CHARLES REX.

Canterbury: See that our Declaration concerning recreation on the Lord's-day after Evening-Prayer, be printed; and accordingly on the 18th of October, 1633, it came forth in print, and was to this effect:—That King James of blessed memory, in his return from Scotland, coming through Lancashire, found that his subjects were debarred from lawful recreations upon Sundays after evening-prayers, and upon holy days: and he prudently considered, that if these times were taken from them, the meaner sort, who labour hard all the week, would have no recreations at all to refresh their spirits. And after his return he further saw, that his loyal subjects in other parts of his kingdom did suffer in the same kind, though perhaps not in the same degree; and did, therefore, in his princely wisdom, publish a Declaration to all his loving subjects, concerning lawful sports to be used at such times, which was printed and published by his royal commandment in the year 1618, in the tenor which hereafter followeth;—

the trials of Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, in the Star Chamber ; the fines and punishment inflicted on them ; the extraordinary measure of

Whereas, upon his Majesty's return the last year out of Scotland, he did publish his pleasure touching the recreation of his people in those parts under his hand : for some causes him thereunto moving, hath thought fit to command these his directions then given in Lancashire, with a few words thereunto added, and most applicable to these parts of the realm, to be published to all his subjects.

Whereas he did justly, in his progress through *Lancashire*, rebuke some puritans and precise people, and took order, that the like unlawful carriage should not be used by any of them hereafter, in the prohibiting and unlawful punishing of his good people, for using their lawful recreations and honest exercises upon *Sundays* and other holy-days, after the afternoon sermon or service ; His Majesty hath now found that two sorts of people, wherewith that country is much infected, viz. *Papists* and *Puritans*, have maliciously traduced and calumniated these his just and honourable proceedings ; and therefore lest his reputation might upon the one side, (though innocently), have some aspersion laid upon it ; and that, upon the other part, his good people in that country be misled by the mistaking and misinterpretation of his meaning, His Majesty hath therefore thought good, hereby to clear and make his pleasure to be manifested to all his good people in those parts.

It is true, that at his first entry to this crown and kingdom, he was informed, and that too truly, that his county of *Lancashire* abounded more in popish recusants than any county of *England*, and thus hath still continued since, to his great regret, with little amendment, save that now of late, in his last riding through his said county, hath found both by the report of the judges, and of the bishop of that diocese, that there is some amendment now daily beginning, which is no small contentment to His Majesty.

The report of this growing amendment amongst them, made His Majesty the more sorry, when with his own ears he heard the general complaint of his people ; that they were barred from all lawful recreations and exercise upon the *Sunday's* afternoon, after the ending of all divine service, which cannot but produce two evils : the one the hindering the conversion of many, whom their priests will take occasion hereby to vex, persuading them that no honest mirth or recreation is lawful or tolerable in the religion which the King professeth, and which cannot but breed a great discontent in his people's hearts, especially of such as are, peradventure, upon the point of turning. The other inconvenience is, that this prohibition barreth the common and meaner sort of people from using such exercises as may make their bodies more able for war, when His Majesty or his successors shall have occasion to use them. And, in place thereof, sets up tippling and filthy drunkenness, and breeds a number of idle and discontented speeches in their alehouses. For when shall the common people have leave to exercise, if not upon the *Sundays* and holy days, seeing they must apply their labour, and win their living in all working days ?

The king's express pleasure therefore is, that the laws of this kingdom, and canons of the church, be as well observed in that county, as in all other places of this his kingdom. And, on

attempting to raise money, without the authority and sanction of parliament, by the scheme of ship-money ; and the frequency of his call-

the other part, that no lawful recreation shall be barred to his good people, which shall not tend to the breach of the aforesaid laws and canons of his church. Which, to express more particularly His Majesty's pleasure, is, that the bishops, and all other inferior churchmen and churchwardens, shall, for their parts, be careful and diligent, both to instruct the ignorant, and to convince and reform them that are misled in religion, presenting them that will not conform themselves, but obstinately stand out, to the judges and justices : whom he likewise commands to put the laws in due execution against them.

His Majesty's pleasure likewise is, that the bishop of that *diocese* take the like strict order with all the *Puritans* and *Precisians* within the same ; either constrain them to conform themselves, or to leave the country, according to the laws of this *kingdom*, and canons of this church ; and so to strike equally on both hands, against the contemners of his authority and adversaries of the Church. And as for his good people's lawful recreation, his pleasure likewise is, that after the end of divine service, his good people be not disturbed, letted, or discouraged from any lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting, or any other such harmless recreation ; nor from having of *May-games*, *Whitsun-ales*, and *Morrice-dances*, and the setting up of *May-poles*, and other sports therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment or neglect of divine service ; and that women shall have leave to carry rushes to the church for the decorating of it, according to their old custom ; but withal His Majesty doth here account still as prohibited, all unlawful games to be used upon *Sundays* only, as *Bear* and *Bull-baitings*, *Interludes* ; and at all times in the meaner sort of people by law prohibited *Bowling* ; and likewise bars from this benefit and liberty all such known *Recusants*, either men or women, as will abstain from coming to church or divine service, being therefore unworthy of any lawful recreation after the said service, that will not first come to the church and serve GOD. Prohibiting, in like sort, the said recreations to any that, though they conform in religion, are not present in the church at the service of GOD, before their going to the said recreations. His pleasure likewise is, that they to whom it belongeth in office, shall present and sharply punish all such as in abuse of this his liberty, will use these exercises before the end of all divine services for that day ; and he doth likewise straightly command, that every person shall resort to his own parish church to hear divine service, and each parish by itself to use the said recreation after divine service. Prohibiting likewise any offensive weapons to be carried or used in the said times of recreation ; and his pleasure is, that this his declaration shall be published by order from the bishop of the diocese, through all the parish churches ; and that both the judges of the circuits, and the justices of the peace be informed thereof.

*Given at the Manour of Greenwich, the 24th day of May, in the sixteenth year of His Majesty's reign of England, France, and Ireland ; and of Scotland the one and fiftieth.*

ing parliaments; and by his sole prerogative as frequently dissolving them in disgust, for not granting him what he deemed necessary to his occasions as a supply by way of subsidy; created such a number of powerful opponents to his proceedings, as first brought to the block the heads of his two principal favorites and advisers, Strafford and Laud: and, finally, after a struggle of eight years' warfare, himself to the same unhappy fate!

With the extirpation of royalty in the person of the king, was blended every ensign that denoted kingly power; the statues of the unfortunate monarch were removed from the Royal Exchange, and Charing Cross, as objects obnoxious to republican and puritanical eyes: the beautiful equestrian figure by Le Soeur, at the latter place, was purchased by one Rivett, a brazier in Holborn, under the pretence of being broken to pieces in order to convert it into candlesticks, knife-handles, and nut-crackers; but the artful and prudent tradesman wisely buried the same in a yard behind his dwelling, substituting in

*Now, out of a like pious care for the service of God, and for suppressing of any humours that oppose truth, and for the ease, comfort, and recreation of his well-deserving people, His Majesty doth ratify and publish this his blessed father's declaration; the rather because of late in some counties of this kingdom, His Majesty finds, that under pretence of taking away abuses there hath been a general forbidding, not only of ordinary meetings, but of the feasts of the dedication of the churches, commonly called Wakes. Now His Majesty's express will and pleasure is, That these feasts, with others, shall be observed; and that his Justices of the Peace, in their several divisions, shall look to it, both that all disorders there may be prevented or punished, and that all neighbourhood and freedom with manlike and lawful exercises, may be used. And His Majesty further commands all Justices of Assize in their several circuits to see that no man do trouble or molest any of his loyal and dutiful people, in or for their lawful recreations, having first done their duty to God, and continuing in obedience to His Majesty's laws. And for this His Majesty commands all his judges, justices of peace, as well within liberties as without, mayors, bailiffs, constables, and officers, to take notice of, and to see observed, as they tender his displeasure. And doth further will that publication of this his command be made, by order of the bishops, through all the parish churches of their several dioceses respectively.*

*Given at the Palace of Westminster, the 18th day of October, in the ninth year of his reign.*

GOD SAVE THE KING!



its place all sorts of inferior metal he could procure, which converting into the above vendible articles, found such ready purchasers, and so great a demand for his ware, from both parties, both cavalier and republican, that he was reported to have made a considerable fortune by his ingenious deception—the royalists keeping them as precious reliques, and the puritans as memorandums of their triumph and victory over fallen greatness; but on the restoration of Charles the Second, the eyes of both parties were opened by the brazier producing the elegant work of art uninjured, which was restored to its former station, the man amply rewarded for the loyal cheat, and the trumpery mockeries reduced to their former intrinsic value—OLD BRASS.

The reforming principles were not confined to royalty—Religion itself came in for its share. Crosses, statues, or painted windows in churches, were mutilated or destroyed, that represented the Saviour, Virgin, or Trinity; and fellows were paid by the day to demolish with long poles objects otherwise beyond their reach. A cavalier one day entering a church in a country-town while this pious and loyal work was going on, observing among several other figures that remained untouched, one of *Time*, with his scythe and hour-glass, asked the busy workmen what that old gentleman had done that he should remain, while so many of his neighbours were doomed to destruction: “Oh!” replied a fellow, “we have received no orders to meddle with him.” “Well then,” retorted the gentleman, “your labour is but half accomplished; as, depend upon it, all the king’s arms, &c. you have put down, he in his turn will set up again.” The cavalier’s wit had, however, gone near to have cost him dear; as inquiries were quickly made concerning from whence he came, and who he was; but he had prudently retreated from the town previous to any active step being taken to detain him.

On another occasion a party were engaged in destroying some painted windows,\* among which was a fine one representing the

\* The following curious journal of William Dowsing of Stratford, parliamentary visitor, appointed under a warrant from the Earl of Manchester, for demolishing the superstitious pictures

Devil tempting Christ: the Saviour they carefully destroyed, but having no objection to the Devil, they left him standing.

The men in power most bountifully bestowed estates upon each other, pillaged from those they called Recusants and Papists. Lord Cottington's lands fell to the lot of Bradshaw; four thousand pounds a year was given to Fairfax out of the Duke of Buckingham's revenues; Hampton Court and Greenwich, with a suitable income, was the

and ornaments of churches, &c. within the county of Suffolk, in the year 1643, will fully demonstrate to what an extent fanatic zeal at that period had arrived.

"SUFFOLK. At HAVERILL, January the 6th, 1643, we broke down about an hundred superstitious pictures; and seven fryars hugging a nun; and the picture of God and Christ; and diverse others very superstitious; and two hundred had been broken down before I came. We took away two popish inscriptions, with *ora pro nobis*; and we beat down a great stoning cross on the top of the church.

"AT CLARE, Jan. 6th, we brake down 1000 superstitious pictures; I brake down 200; 3 of God the Father, and 3 of Christ and the Holy Lamb, and 3 of the Holy Ghost like a Dove with wings; and the 12 Apostles were carved in wood, on the top of the roof, which we gave order to take down; and 20 cherubims to be taken down; and the sun and moon in the East Window, by the King's arms to be taken down.

"SUDBURY, Suffolk, *Peter's* Parish, Jan. 9th, 1643, we brake down a picture of God the Father, 2 crucifixes, and pictures of Christ, about an hundred in all; and gave order to take down a cross off the steeple; and divers angels, 20 at least, on the roof of the church.

"SUDBURY, *Gregory* Parish, Jan. the 9th, we brake down 10 mighty great angels in glass; in all, 80.

"ALFORD, Jan. 27th, we brake down 30 superstitious pictures, and gave direction to take down 37 more; and 40 cherubims to be taken down of wood; and the chancel levelled. There was a picture of Christ on the cross, and God the Father above it; and left 37 superstitious pictures to be taken down; and took up 6 superstitious inscriptions in brass.

"COCHIE, April the 6th, we brake down 200 pictures; one pope, with divers cardinals, Christ and the Virgin Mary; a picture of God the Father, and many others, which I remember not. There was 4 steps, with a vault underneath, but the 2 first might be levelled, which we gave order to the churchwardens to do. There was many inscriptions of JESUS in capital letters, on the roof of the church, and cherubims with crosses on their breasts; and a cross in the chancel; all which, with divers pictures in the windows, which we could not reach, neither would they help us to ladders, we left, and a warrant with the constable to demolish in 14 days.

"UFFORD, Aug. 31st, we brake down 30 superstitious pictures; and left 37 more to break down, and some of them we brake down now. In the chancel we brake down an angel; 3 *orate pro anima*, in the glass; and the Trinity in a triangle; and 12 cherubims on the roof of the chancel; and nigh 100 JESUS-MARIA, in capital letters; and the steps to be levelled."

reward of Cromwell ; Scot laid hold of Lambeth ; and to satisfy other deserving favourites, an Act came out for the sale of the manors, houses, lands, and forests, of the King, Queen, and Prince of Wales, together with all lands belonging to Deans and Chapters ; and to requite the City of London for past services, NEW PARK, with all the deer therein, was conferred upon those WORTHY PATRIOTS to hold in common soccage.

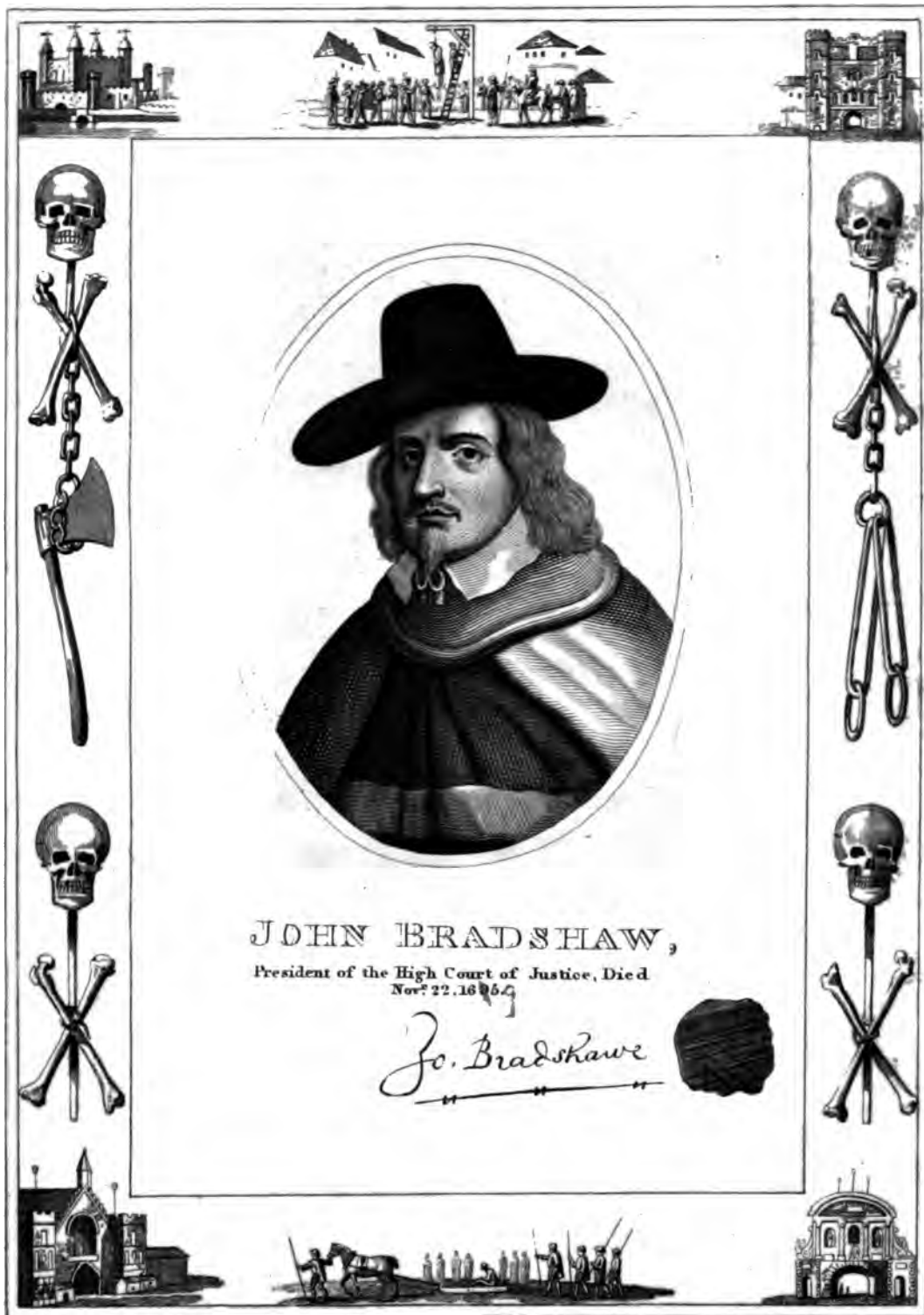
Winstanley, in his *Loyal Martyrology*, and Heath, in his Chronicle of the *Civil Wars*, insinuate that most of the King's Judges, and the bulk of the Regicides, were men of mean account, consisting of butchers, draymen, broken traders, low mechanics, and others in desperate circumstances ; but it is evident from the seals affixed after their names to the death-warrant of Charles the First, that they were all men of honourable descent, however they might have been reduced in their fortunes.

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THE  
HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE,

&c.

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**John Bradshaw,**

PRESIDENT.

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**J**OHN BRADSHAW was descended of an ancient family, in the county of Lancaster, but of a branch seated, as recorded by some, at Bradshaw, or Bradshaigh, in Derbyshire; others state him to have been born at Marple, in Cheshire: being intended for the profession of the law, he received a liberal education, but at what seminary is not recorded. The first notice we learn of him, is his studying the law at Gray's Inn, where, after being admitted to the bar, he had great chamber practice among the partizans of the parliament, to whose political tenets he was most zealously devoted. Lord Clarendon, who was decidedly in the opposite interest, candidly confesses him not to have been without parts, but insolent and ambitious; yet these observations are evidently the result of his conduct on the trial of the king, and the resolute way in which he conducted himself on that occasion. As a sound lawyer, Bradshaw was previously known to the parliament, who commissioned him to prosecute the Lords Macquire and Macmahon, Irish Rebels; which he did to the conviction of Lord Macquire, who was condemned and executed in 1644. Bradshaw does not appear to have acted on any other public occasion, until October, 1646, when he was made a joint Commissioner of the great seal for six months, by a vote of the House of Commons; and, in the February following, both Houses voted him Chief Justice of Chester. In June, of the same year, (1647,) he was named by parliament one of the



counsel to prosecute the intrepid loyal Welsh Judge, Jenkins,\* and was called to the rank of Serjeant, October 12, 1648. When the trial of the king was determined upon, many persons imagined few other lawyers than Bradshaw would have been prevailed upon to have acted as President, and that had he declined the appointment, it would have been difficult to have found a substitute; but, it must be recollected, the Solicitor General Cooke, and other eminent lawyers of that time, were equally bitter and violent against Charles, as Serjeant Bradshaw. Lord Clarendon says, when called upon, January 12, 1648, by the Court, to take his seat as President, he affected to make an earnest apology and excuse; and that he seemed much surprized and very resolute to refuse it, and even required time to consider; but the next day accepted the office, and soon demonstrated that he was exactly fitted for it, by his contemptuous treatment of his unhappy sovereign. The court then bestowed on him the title of Lord President, without as well as within the court, during the commission and sitting of the court. A retinue of officers was appointed to attend him, going and returning from Westminster-Hall; lodgings were provided for him in New Palace-Yard; he was to be preceded by a sword and a mace, carried by two gentlemen, and in court he had a guard of two hundred soldiers; he had a chair of crimson velvet in the middle of the court, and wore his hat when the king appeared; and was highly offended that his sovereign should not be uncovered in his presence, which was, however, after the first day of the trial, duly enjoined. Besides these pompous honours, he was rewarded for his service on the trial, with the Deanery House, in Westminster, as his residence; the sum of 5,000*l.* was given him to procure an equipage suitable to his new rank; and he also received the seat of the Earl of St. Alban's, called Summer-Hill, and Lord Cottington's estate in Wiltshire, valued at 1,500*l. per annum*, to him and his heirs. He was likewise made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. From these circumstances, it easily appears, the Republicans attached the greatest importance to the part he had performed, and considered him as worthy, not only to be honored with the most splendid accompani-

\* David Jenkins, a Welsh Judge, imprisoned several persons for bearing arms against Charles the First—for which he was sent to the Tower. When he was brought to the bar of the House of Commons, he peremptorily disowned their jurisdiction. Expecting daily to be hanged, he came to a resolution to suffer with the Bible under one arm, and Magna Charta under the other. He at length regained his liberty, and died in 1663, aged 81.

ments, but to be rewarded with the richest gifts and grants. Bradshaw was, in truth, a more thorough Republican than most of the party, and became obnoxious to Cromwell for disapproving of the latter placing himself at the head of the government. This occasioned frequent disputes between them, and Cromwell, at length, prevailed in depriving him of the office of Chief Justice of Chester. Hitherto he had proceeded in a career of power and splendour, wealth and consequence, that astonished every one, and probably surprized none more than himself; but, when Oliver seized the government, a very different scene presented itself. None could be more obnoxious to the aspiring Cromwell, than the man who had the intrepidity to undertake, and so thoroughly go through the office Bradshaw had so boldly effected; and he now resolved, if possible, to counteract the dissolution of the Republican government. When Oliver had in his peremptory manner dissolved the long Parliament, April 20, 1653, he determined to take his place at the council of state, with several other members, in the afternoon of that memorable day; but his potent competitor for power, feeling his own authority backed by a victorious army, joined the party at their time of meeting, and completely finished before night, the business he had commenced in the forenoon, by dispersing from the rendezvous, Bradshaw, Sir Arthur Heselrigge, Nicholas Love, Mr. Scot, and the rest of the party; and the council, like the parliament, were compelled, though sorely against their inclination, to quit their situation, and retire.

Cromwell paid so much attention to Serjeant Bradshaw, as to shew all outward marks of respect; but the latter well knew, that though his name was put in the assembly that was appointed to meet relative to a settlement of the government, it was only a matter of compliment, and he therefore did all he could to obstruct the designs of the wily Cromwell, by shewing his ambitious aim to the younger members. Oliver, until he had secured the sovereignty, continued to pay his rival the most flattering attention and respect; but, that done, they separated with mutual coolness.

Once seated in power, the Protector expected every homage and attention, from the highest as well as the lowest, and insisted upon every one taking out a commission from himself, if they chose to retain their places under his government; but, when the Lord President appeared, he absolutely refused, alleging, that he had received his commission as Chief Justice of Chester, to continue *quamdin se bene gesserit*, and he should retain it without any other,

unless he could be proved to have justly forfeited it by want of integrity; and, if there were any doubts of it, he would submit it to trial, by twelve Englishmen; and soon after set out on the circuit without waiting further orders; nor did Oliver think it prudent to prevent or recall him, as he had said, nothing but force should make him desist from his duty. This highly exasperated the Protector, who sent a letter to Chester, to request that the Lord President might be opposed by every means, in the ensuing election, for that city. This he did, that it might put a particular disgrace upon him, but it had not the effect intended; the letter by some means came into the hands of his friends, who publicly read it at Chester; and he had there so many, whom he had an influence over, that he was returned a Member for the county by the Sheriff; but others, in the Cromwellian interest returning another, neither sat, because it had been so decided in case of double returns. The indignation Bradshaw felt on Cromwell's triumph, made his blood boil with rage, and he threatened vengeance against the author of his discomfiture and disgrace. He entered into a conspiracy, the plan of which was to seize General Monk, then Major-General; Overton was to have drawn three thousand foot, with some horse, into the field, and soon after to have marched for England, where he and Sir Arthur Heselrigge were to have joined them, with very considerable forces; and Vice-Admiral Lawson was to have declared in their favor, with a squadron of the fleet; Colonels Pride, Cobbit, Ashfield, Lieutenant-Colonels Mason, Michel, and Wilkes, with several others, were engaged in the plot; and there were declarations printing to spirit up the people, who were to assist in restoring the commonwealth.

This scheme blew over, and no notice was taken of it by the Protector, who, to keep up some shew of regard for him, on September 16, 1653, had it enacted by Parliament, that the continuance of the palatinate power of Lancaster should be vested in him, and this was but the year succeeding that in which he had engaged in this design. Each watched the other with the most sedulous attention; but in the arts of policy and hypocrisy, Cromwell had the most decided superiority.

The Lord President defeated, yet not despairing of his revenge, pursued his aim; and to accomplish it the better, united himself, in 1656, to the violent faction of those who called themselves Fifth Monarchy-men, but not openly. These fanatics supposed, "that this was the time for destroying and pulling down Babylon and its adherents, and the saints must do it, who were to bind

kings in chains; and it was to be done by the sword." With these despicable beings did Bradshaw hold correspondence, telling Okey and Goodgroom, two of them, that "the long Parliament, though under a force, was the supreme authority of England." He carried on his projects in the city, which, as well as the other design, was not unknown to the Protector; who, not daring to seize this great incendiary, continued carefully to watch and defeat his designs. A new parliament was to be summoned, and he could not think of having Bradshaw in it; for the Republicans looked up to his opinion as a law to them, and nothing could have restrained them in parliament. Major-General Bridge was therefore ordered to prevent his return for Cheshire. This was done, however, with great difficulty, for he had a decided interest in the county, and even amongst those whom the Protector had appointed his commissioners. He lost his election in London, which he had aimed at; and, to crown all his mortification, he was about the same time deprived of his favorite office of Chief Justice of Chester.

These mutual disgusts must have been fatal to one of them, if either durst openly have avowed himself a decided enemy; but each waited for the exact moment to ruin the other, which, however, never took place, from the extreme caution of both. Their hatred was visible to all; and Whitlock observes, that in November, 1657, the dislike between them was perceived to increase. On the death of Cromwell, when the long Parliament was restored, Bradshaw obtained a seat in the council, was elected president, and would have been appointed commissioner of the great seal, but his infirm state of health obliged him to decline the latter office. The army having again put a force upon the House of Commons, by seizing the Speaker Lenthal, as he was going thither, and by so doing suspended all farther proceeding of the then existing government. Bradshaw, ill as he was, knowing the Council of State sat that day, he repaired to it, that he might do all he could to serve the cause of the Republic; and, when Colonel Sydenham, one of the Members of the Council, endeavoured to justify the army in what they had done, he stood up, and, interrupting him, declared his abhorrence of that detestable action; telling the Council, that being now going to his God, he had not patience to sit there, and hear his great name so openly blasphemed. He abruptly left them, and withdrew himself from all public employment.

Bradshaw survived this last effort but a few days, dying November 22, 1659, of a quartan ague, which had held him a year; declaring in his last

moments, if the king were to be tried and condemned again, he would be the first man to do it. He was pompously interred in Westminster-Abbey, from whence his body was taken up at the restoration, and exposed with those of Cromwell and Ireton, on a gibbet, at Tyburn, and their heads afterwards placed on Westminster-Hall. Great doubts, however, have been entertained as to the fact of its being the bodies of those persons, but that they were previously removed, and those of common malefactors deposited in their coffins. A cannon was found at Jamaica, with an inscription, that the dust of Bradshaw was deposited near it, though it is certain his death took place in England: and many places have been assigned as to where Cromwell's body was really left to perish, but no certain spot has been truly ascertained.

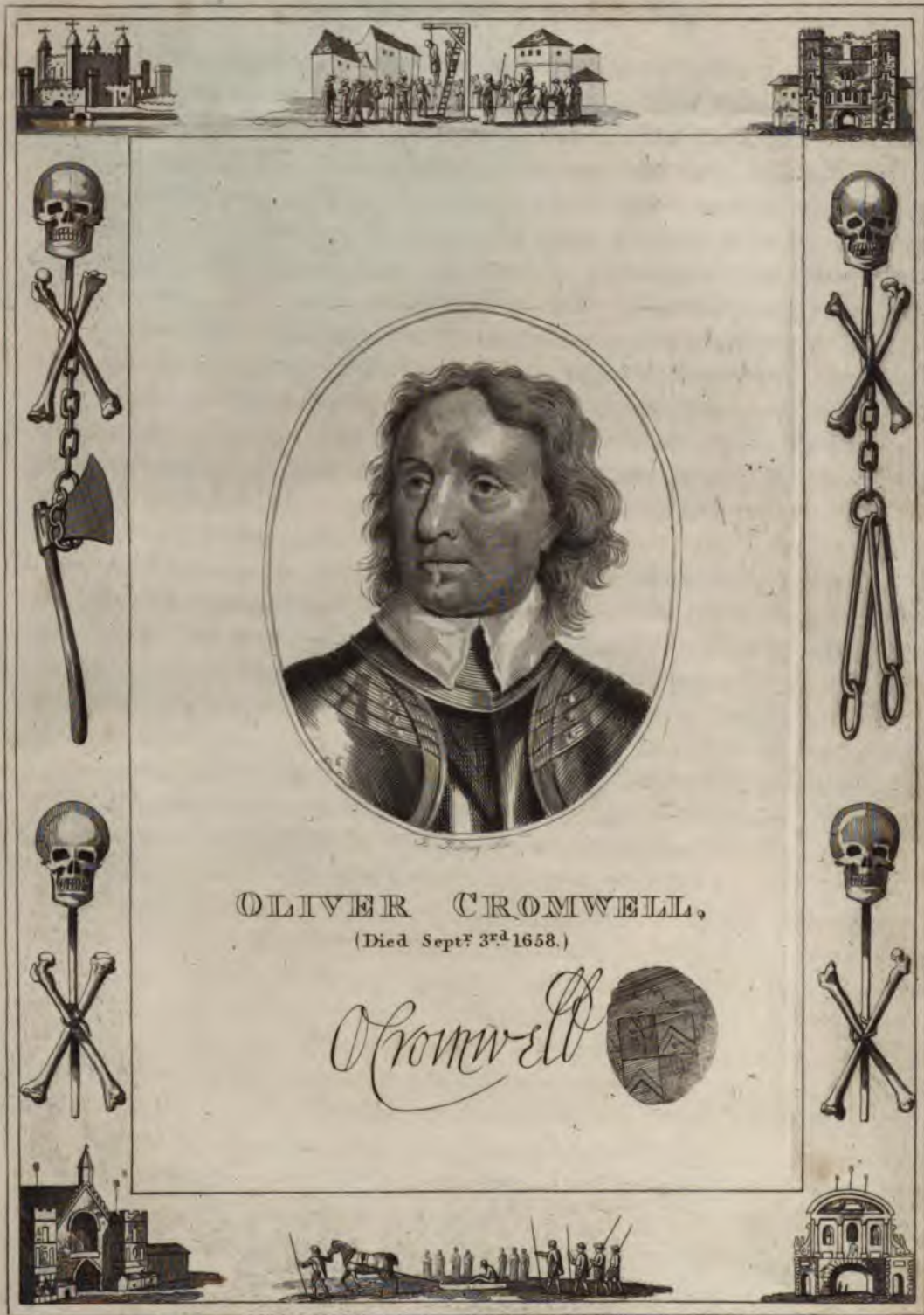
Notwithstanding the abhorrence every Royalist expressed against the conduct and memory of Bradshaw, his bitterest revilers have acknowledged him as a man endowed with considerable abilities, and of the most undaunted resolution, and determined intrepidity.

In the plenitude of power, Bradshaw became tremendous from his high station, and was regarded with universal terror, alike courted and dreaded by all; even the bold Archbishop Williams stooped to solicit his protection: and, as his office did not cease with the king's trial, the parliament permitted him to make a deputy in Guildhall, where he sat as a judge; and he was elected one of the thirty-eight Members of the Council of State, amongst whom, were the Earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, and Salisbury; with the Lords Gray, Fairfax, General Lord Grey of Groby and Lisle, the heirs apparent to the Earls of Stamford and Pembroke.

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## Oliver Cromwell.

OLIVER CROMWELL was born in the parish of St. John, Huntingdon, April 25, 1599, and baptized 29th of the same month. He received his education at the Free-School in that town, under Dr. Beard, a severe disciplinarian. Very different accounts are given of his behaviour while at school: some say he shewed very little propensity to learning; others, that he made a great proficiency in it: it is probable that both are wrong, and that he was not either incorrigibly dull, or wonderfully bright; but that he was an unlucky boy, and of an uneasy and turbulent temper. Many stories are told of his enthusiasm in this early part of his life: while lying melancholy upon his bed, in the day-time, he fancied he saw a spectre, that told him, he should be the greatest man in the kingdom. His father being informed of this, was very angry, and desired his master to correct him severely, which however had no great effect; for Oliver was still persuaded of the thing, and would sometimes mention it, notwithstanding his uncle Stewart told him "it was too traitorous to repeat." From Huntingdon, he was removed to Sidney College, Cambridge, in 1616. His father dying about two years after he had been at College, he returned home; where the irregularity of his conduct so disturbed his mother, that, by the advice of friends, she sent him to London, to study the law; but he is reported to have given himself up to wine, women, and play, and quickly squandered what his father had left him. His stay at Lincoln's Inn could not be long, as he married, and his first child was born in 1621. The lady he married was Elizabeth Bouchier, daughter of Sir James Bouchier of Essex, knight, a woman of spirit and parts, of few personal charms, but possessing a considerable share of pride.

On his return to Huntingdon, he led a very sober and sedate life: falling into company, and associating with puritans, and an estate of 400*l.* a year coming to him by the death of his uncle Stewart, he removed into the Isle of Ely, and was elected a Member of the third Parliament of Charles I., which met January 20, 1628. When he came into Parliament, he was very constant

in his attendance, and a frequent speaker. He was very zealous in promoting the remonstrance, which was carried, November 14, 1641, and which in reality laid the basis for the Civil War; and declared to Lord Falkland afterwards, that if the remonstrance had not been carried, he was resolved to have converted the remains of his estate into ready money the next day, and to have quitted the kingdom upon the first opportunity. He affected not only plainness, but carelessness in dress, and was very uniform in his conduct, spoke in a warm manner, but without either art or elocution. When pressed by some friends to declare his sentiments on ecclesiastical affairs. "I can tell," said he, "what I would not have, though I cannot tell what I would have."

As soon as the Parliament formed any scheme of raising forces, which was in 1642, Cromwell shewed his activity, by going to Cambridge, where he soon raised a troop of horse, of which himself was appointed commander: at Cambridge he fixed his head quarters, and narrowly missed seizing the plate contributed by many of the colleges, to assist the king in his difficulties. This so enraged him, that he laid the whole county under contribution, without even sparing his relations, or best friends: among others, he visited old Sir Oliver Cromwell, his uncle and godfather; and though he pretended so much respect and veneration to the old gentleman, as not to be covered in his presence, he not only took away all the arms he could find in the house, but plundered him of his plate into the bargain.

Cromwell was in his 43rd year when he first assumed the military character, and in the space of a few months he not only gained the reputation of an officer, but really became a good one: by mere dint of discipline he made his new raised men excellent soldiers, and laid the foundation of that invincible strength, which he afterwards exerted in the Republican cause. The Scots having been invited to England by the Parliament, it was judged highly requisite that the army under the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell, who was now declared Lieutenant-General of the horse, should join them, the better to enable them to reduce York, which they had closely besieged. This service was performed with great vigour and diligence, especially by Cromwell; for, though the Earl had the title, the power was chiefly in Cromwell, and things were so dexterously managed between him and his friends at Westminster, that, as they knew they might depend upon him, they took care to put as much in his hands as they could. In the battle of Marstonmoor, fought July 3, 1644, it is unanimously agreed, that Cromwell's cavalry, who were



commonly styled Ironsides, changed the fortune of the day, as that battle did of the war; for the king's affairs declined, and the parliament's flourished ever after.

Cromwell shone particularly at the battle of Naseby, June 14th, 1646, and had also his share in reducing the west; till upon the surrender of Exeter, April 13, 1645, he found leisure to return to London. Upon taking his seat in the house, thanks were returned him, in terms as strong as words could express; and the prevailing party there, received from him such encouragement, as induced them to believe he was wholly at their devotion. But in this they were mistaken; for while they thought the lieutenant-general employed in their business, he was, in reality, only attentive to his own. Thus, when the parliament inclined to disband a part of their forces, after the king had delivered himself to the Scots, and the Scots had agreed to deliver him to the parliament, Cromwell opposed it vigorously, if not openly. For, in the first place, he insinuated by his emissaries to the soldiers, that this was not only the highest piece of ingratitude towards those who had fought the parliament into a power of disbanding them, but likewise a crying act of injustice, as it was done with no other view than to cheat them of their arrears. Secondly, he procured an exemption for Sir Thomas Fairfax's army, or, in other words, for his own; the general having that title and appointment, while Cromwell had the power; and the weight of the reduction fell upon Massey's brigade in the west, together with the troops which Colonel Poyntz commanded in Yorkshire; men of whom he had good reason to doubt, but upon whom the parliament might have depended. Thus he dexterously turned to his own advantage the means which, in truth, were contrived for his degradation and ultimate destruction.

The latter part of the year 1648, was the most critical period in Cromwell's whole life; for, in order to succeed in his schemes, it was absolutely necessary for him to deceive the king, the parliament, and the army, which, in turn, he effected, though not without danger and difficulty. The king relied entirely upon Cromwell and Ireton; and they, on the other hand, spoke of, and acted towards him in such a manner, that they were looked upon as absolute courtiers. Nor is it at all wonderful that the king gave credit to them, when they prevailed on the army to send a letter to the parliament, delivered July 9th, 1647, avowing the king's cause to be theirs, and that no settlement could be hoped for, without granting him his just rights. As to the parlia-

ment, so long as they enjoyed their power, Cromwell always spoke the language of a member of the House of Commons; shewed a high regard for their privileges; and professed that he was suspected and disliked by the army, for his attachment to the civil government. This did not, however, hinder his being disbelieved by many, till at length he found it necessary for his own safety to make his escape from the house with some precipitation. That mutinous spirit which the soldiers discovered against the parliament, was raised, fomented, and managed by Cromwell and Ireton; the former declaring at Triploe Heath, when the parliament had been obliged to erase their own declaration out of their Journals, that "now they might be an army as long as they lived."

The flight of Charles I. from Hampton Court, his confinement in Carisbrook Castle, trial and death, are too generally known to dwell on; the part Cromwell acted in this scene was open and public. He sat in the court; he signed the warrant; and he prosecuted the accomplishment of the execution by every means in his power. When the first proposition was made in the House of Commons for trying the king, he rose up, and said, "that if any man moved this upon design, he should think him the greatest traitor in the world; but since Providence and necessity had cast them upon it, he should pray God to bless their counsels, though he was not provided on the sudden to give them advice;" but not long after, he was; for, being a great pretender to enthusiasm and revelations, he told them, with consummate hypocrisy, that as he was praying for a blessing from God on his undertaking to restore the king to his pristine majesty, his tongue cleaved to the roof of his mouth, that he could not speak one word more; which he took as a return of prayer, that God had rejected him from being king.

The government becoming entirely changed by the death of the king, the House of Lords was voted useless, a Council of State was set up, of which John Bradshaw was made president, and Lieutenant General Cromwell a principal member. But before he had well taken possession of this new dignity, he was called into action to quell an insurrection, which had taken place in a dissatisfied part of the army; this he soon completely quelled; and in August, 1649, embarked with an army for Ireland, where his successes, as in England, were attended with so few disappointments, that by June, 1650, he had, in a manner, subdued the whole island. Where constituting his son-in-law Ireton, his deputy, he took ship for Bristol, leaving such a terror upon the



minds of the Irish, as made every thing easy to those who succeeded him, and completed the conquest of that country.

His return to London was a kind of triumph; and all ranks of people contended, either through love or fear, who should shew him the most respect. At his taking his seat in the house, he had thanks returned him for his services, in the highest terms. When these ceremonies were over, they proceeded to matters of greater consequence; for, by this time the parliament had another war on their hands, the Scots having invited home Charles II. and prepared an army to invade England. Thomas, Lord Fairfax, having taken the covenant, could not bring himself to think of breaking it, by attacking the Scots in their own country; and though pressed by Cromwell, and the more earnestly, because he knew he would not continue his command, Fairfax remained inflexible, and an ordinance passed for repealing his commission, and another for appointing Cromwell general and commander-in-chief of all the forces of the Commonwealth. He now marched with an army to Scotland, and September 3rd, 1650, gained the victory of Dunbar, than which none did him greater credit as a commander. He continued the war all the winter; and the following spring was severely attacked by an ague; of which recovering, he, after several successes, forced the king into England, and blocked him up in Worcester. September 3rd, 1651, he attacked and carried that city, totally defeated the king's forces, and gained what he himself called, in his letter to the parliament, the crowning victory. This signal success took Cromwell a little off his guard. He would have knighted two of his principal commanders upon the field of battle, and was with difficulty dissuaded from it. Though he took care to make the army sensible of their own importance, and to let them see that nothing could divide their interests from his own. This was the true foundation of his growing greatness, and of the gradual declension of the parliament's power; which, though they clearly discerned, they knew not how to prevent.

He did not remain long with the troops, but directed his march to London; where, besides many other marks of honor that were paid him, a general thanksgiving was appointed for his victory, and September 3rd made an anniversary state holiday. He now saw himself general and commander-in-chief of a victorious army, and at the same time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. But feeling all this was derived to him from the parliament, he resolutely determined, while the power was in his own hands, to overturn his employers, and

raise up a government entirely dependent on the army and himself. To which purpose, April 20th, 1653, he marched with a party of three hundred soldiers to Westminster, and, placing some of them at the door, some in the lobby, and others on the stairs, he went into the house, sat down and heard the debates; but on the question being put to continue their sitting to the 5th of November the following year, he suddenly started up, bade the speaker leave the chair, and told the house they had sat long enough, unless they had done more good; that some of them were whore-masters, others drunkards, corrupt and unjust men, and scandalous to the profession of the gospel; that it was not fit they should sit as a parliament any longer: then stepping into the midst of the house, he added, "Come, come, I will put an end to your prating. You are no parliament, I say you are no parliament;" and, stamping with his feet, he bid them for shame be gone, and give place to honest men. Upon this signal the soldiers entered the house, when he bade one of them take away that bauble, pointing to the mace; and Harrison taking the speaker by the hand, he left the chair. Then Cromwell, addressing himself again to the members, who were about an hundred, said, "'Tis you that have forced me to this; for I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather stay me, than put me upon doing this work;" then seizing on all their papers, he ordered the soldiers to see the house cleared of all persons; and, causing the doors to be locked up, went away to Whitehall.

Not being of a disposition to do things by halves, in the afternoon of the same day, Cromwell, attended by his Major Generals Lambert and Harrison, went to the Council of State, and, finding them sitting, addressed them in the following terms: "Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed; but, if as a Council of State, this is no place for you. And since you cannot but know what was done at the house this morning, so take notice that the parliament is dissolved." Serjeant Bradshaw boldly answered, "Sir, we have heard what you did at the house in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it. But, Sir, you are mistaken to think the parliament is dissolved, for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves; and, therefore, take you notice of that." Some others also spoke to the same purpose; but the council, finding themselves to be under the same restraint as the parliament, departed.

Cromwell, for a few days, continued to direct all things by the advice of a council of officers, and a new Council of State was called by virtue of war-



rants under the Lord General's hand ; but this was a mere contrivance to gain time : for consisting chiefly of fifth-monarchy men and other fanatics, they soon dissolved themselves, and then the power returned into the hands of Cromwell, from whom it came. The scene thus changed, the supreme power lay in the council of officers again ; and they very speedily resolved, that the Lord General, with a select council, should have the administration of public affairs, upon the terms contained in a paper entitled " The Instrument of Government ;" and that his Excellency should be Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and have the title of Highness. Accordingly he was invested therewith December 16th, 1653, in the Court of Chancery, Westminster Hall, with great solemnity ; and thus, in his fifty-fourth year, assumed the sovereign power, which he well knew how to exercise with firmness. When he had thus reduced the government into some order, he proceeded wisely and warily ; appointed a privy-council, composed of persons of the greatest ability, and applied himself to the settlement of the public affairs, both foreign and domestic. He concluded a peace with the states of Holland, and Sweden ; and obliged the King of Portugal, notwithstanding all that had passed between the parliament and him, to accept a peace upon his own terms ; and adjusted matters with France, though not without some difficulty. As to affairs at home, he filled the courts in Westminster Hall, with able judges ; and directed the lawyers themselves to make such corrections in the practice of their profession, as might free them from public odium. The same moderation he practised in church matters, professing an unalterable resolution to maintain liberty of conscience. He gave the command of all the forces in Scotland to General Monk, and sent his son Henry to govern Ireland. By an ordinance dated April 12th, 1654, he united England and Scotland, fixing the number of representatives for the latter at thirty, and soon after did the same for Ireland.

But notwithstanding the pains he took to gain the affections of the people, he found a spirit rising against him in all the three kingdoms ; and his government so cramped for want of money, that he was under an absolute necessity of calling a parliament, according to the form he had prescribed in the Instrument of Government. He fixed September 3rd, for the day on which they were to assemble, esteeming it particularly fortunate to him ; and to this he peremptorily adhered, though it happened to fall on a Sunday. The parliament was accordingly opened on that day, after hearing a sermon at West-



minster Abbey, to which the Protector went in very great state. He received this House of Commons in the Painted Chamber, where he gave them a full account of the nature of that government which he had thought fit to establish, the ends he proposed, and the means he had used to promote those ends. When they came to the house, they fell to debating, whether the supreme power of the kingdom should be in a single person, or a parliament, which, alarming the Protector, who found himself in danger of being deposed by a vote of this new parliament, he caused a guard to be set at the door, on the 12th of the same month, to prevent their going into the house; then sent for them into the Painted Chamber, where he gave them a very sharp rebuke; nor did he permit any to go into the house afterwards, before they had taken an oath to be faithful to the Protector and his government. By the Instrument of Government, the parliament was to sit five months; but, discovering they were about to take away his power, and would grant him no money, he, on January 23rd, sent for them once more into the Painted Chamber, where, after a long and bitter speech, he dissolved them.

The dissolution of the parliament created much discontent, and Cromwell found himself beset with conspiracies on all sides, and by all parties; but his genius and consummate policy defeated every attempt on his person and government. Several conspirators were detected, brought to trial, and, being found guilty, suffered; this struck terror into others; and by the vigilance of those in whom he confided, Cromwell fully established himself in secure peace both at home and abroad. He greatly strengthened himself by alliances with foreign courts, particularly with those of France and Sweden; and the glorious successes of Admiral Blake in the Mediterranean, and the great sums he recovered from several powers for depredations committed by their subjects on the English merchants, did much credit to the Protector's government; and how much soever he might be disliked at home, his reputation stood very high abroad.

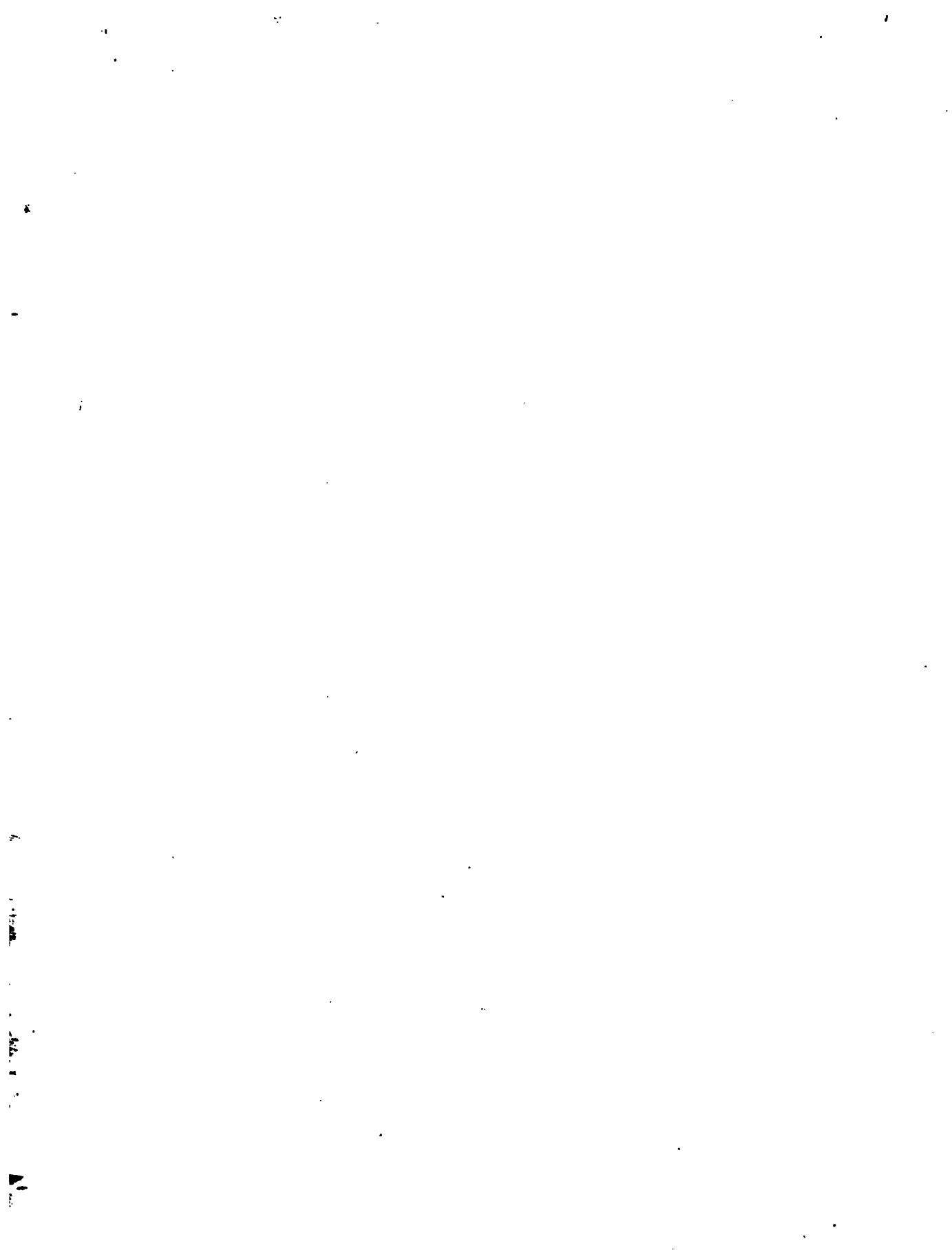
Though the war with Spain under Blake's management had brought two millions of money into the Protector's coffers, he still felt some wants, which he judged nothing but a parliament could supply; and having concerted more effectual methods, as he conceived, for bending them to his will, than had been practised before, he fixed the meeting of that assembly September 19th, 1656. It met accordingly; but with a guard posted at the door of the house, who suffered none to enter till they had taken the oaths

prepared for them, by which many were excluded. The parliament, however, chose a speaker; passed an act for disannulling the king's title, another for the security of his highness's person, and several money bills; for all which the Protector gave them his most gracious thanks. In the spring of 1657, it plainly appeared what the Protector aimed at, by the pains he had taken with the parliament; for now a kind of legislative settlement of the government was upon the carpet, in which was a blank for the supreme governor's title, and a clause prepared to countenance the establishing something like peers, under the name of the other house. At length the project came to light, for an Alderman named Pack, deep in government jobs, a money-getting fellow, moved that the first blank might be filled with the word KING. This was so violently opposed by the army members, that though it was carried, as well as the clause empowering him to make something like lords, Cromwell, at this period, determined to refuse, though he would have been glad to have had the kingship forced upon him; but that he found some of his best friends and nearest relations averse to it; who carried their opposition so far, as to promote a petition from the army against it. He, therefore, May 8th, 1657, told them in the banqueting-house that he could not, with a safe conscience, accept the government under the title of king. The parliament then thought proper to fill up the blank with his former title of Protector; and his highness himself, that all the pains he had taken might not absolutely be thrown away, resolved upon a new inauguration, which was accordingly performed June 26th, 1657, in Westminster Hall, with all the pomp and solemnity of a coronation. After this, the House of Commons adjourned, in order to give the Protector time to regulate all things according to the intended new system; with a view to which he summoned his two sons and others, to take their seats in the other house.

In the beginning of 1658, he flattered himself with the hopes of being once more at the head of an assembly somewhat resembling the ancient parliaments of England; and pursuant to their own adjournment, the Commons met January 20th, as the other House also did, agreeably to the writs of summons issued by the Lord Protector. He sent for them by the Black Rod, and began his speech with the pompous words "My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons, &c.:" all this only served to shew that his administration was founded in military force, and nothing else; for the ancient nobility would not resume their seats in such company

as he had assigned them ; and the House of Commons would have nothing to do with the new nobles in the other house ; and the new nobles could do nothing by themselves. So, in less than a fortnight, the new system was in a fair way of being pulled to pieces, which obliged the Protector to come, February 4th, and to dissolve them with great bitterness of speech and sorrow of heart : for now he plainly saw that a regular establishment was a thing impracticable. Some further designs against him were soon after discovered, for which Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewett suffered on Tower Hill. His favorite daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Claypole dying, and in her illness reproaching him for his cruelties, especially with respect to Dr. Hewett, on whose behalf she had made the most importunate intercessions ; he is said to have been from that time wholly altered, and grew daily more suspicious and reserved, and, indeed, not without reason ; for he found a general discontent prevailed through the nation, a signal disaffection in the army, and a great increase in the influence of the republicans, to whom some of his relations, and even his wife, inclined. These cares having long tormented his mind, at last affected his body ; and at Hampton Court, he fell into a kind of slow fever, which terminated in a tertian ague. For a week this disorder continued without any dangerous symptoms, insomuch that every other day he walked abroad ; but one day after dinner his five physicians coming to wait upon him, one of them having felt his pulse, said that it intermitted. At this, being somewhat surprised, he turned pale, fell into a cold sweat, and when he was almost fainting, ordered himself to be carried to bed ; where, by the assistance of cordials, being brought a little to himself, he made his will with respect to his private affairs. Being removed to London, he became much worse, grew first lethargic, then delirious ; and, after recovering a little, but not enough to give any distinct directions about public affairs, he died September 3rd, 1658, aged somewhat more than fifty-nine years.

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JOHN BARKSTEAD,  
(Executed at Tyburn, 1662.)

*Jo Barketead* 



## Colonel John Barkstead.

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**J**OHAN BARKSTEAD was originally by profession a goldsmith, and kept (says Winstanley,) a sorry shop in the Strand. On the breaking out of the civil war, he quitted trade, and entered the parliament army; and so much distinguished himself by his services and zeal in the cause he had embarked in, that he was made captain of a foot company under Colonel Ven, at Windsor; and shortly after made Governor of Reading. He so actively discharged the trust reposed in him, as particularly to attract the notice of Cromwell, who never was at a loss to discover merit, and to appropriate the talents of those who were possessed of it to his own use and service; and, on his becoming possessed of supreme power, he knighted Barkstead, and made him one of his lords. He had previously, by the parliament, been entrusted with the custody of the Tower, in which office the Protector fully confirmed him; and also appointed him major-general of London.

Barkstead, though a thorough republican, joined in every change of government during the Usurpation; and is reported to have amassed great wealth by extortion from the unfortunate loyalists committed to his custody while keeper of the Tower; whom, on several occasions, he is said to have treated with uncommon severity, by which he became equally odious and detestable to them, as Bradshaw, or Cromwell himself.

On the restoration of monarchy, feeling the danger he stood in, he fled to the Continent, and having expended most of the money he had accumulated while in office, in purchasing episcopal, and other lands of the clergy, he was in a manner left destitute of support; he lurked for some time in various parts of Germany, under feigned names, but at length settled at Hanau, where he was elected a Burgess; but imprudently quitting that free city, in company with Colonel Okey, and Miles Corbet, in order to join their wives whom they had appointed to meet at Delf, in Holland; which circumstance coming to the knowledge of Sir George Downing, the British Envoy for the

King at the Hague; who had, previous to the restoration, been the intimate companion and friend of Barkstead; he caused him and his two companions to be arrested and conveyed to England, in order to take their trials for the share they had in the death of the late king.

After having remained some time prisoners in the Tower, Barkstead, with Corbet and Okey, were brought to the King's Bench bar, and there demanded what they could say for themselves, why they should not die according to law, the act of attainder was then read to them; to which they alleged, they were not the same persons therein described, but sufficient witnesses being in readiness to prove their identity, sentence of death was pronounced against them; and on Saturday, April 19th, 1662, all three were executed at Tyburn. The head of Barkstead was set upon a pole, and placed on Traitor's Gate, in the Tower; of which place he had been governor. His wife is reported to have survived him for a length of time.

The royalists gave out that he died meanly, having, as supposed by them, taken some stupifying drug previous to his leaving the prison. Ludlow, on the contrary, asserts, that he died with cheerfulness and courage, no way derogating from the soldier, and a true Englishman; and though he was not himself in England at the time, little question can arise but he had a faithful report of the transactions that took place with respect to the manner with which the judges of Charles I. were proceeded against, and the way in which they underwent the sentence pronounced against them.

Barkstead's greatest enemies candidly acknowledge him to have been a man of the greatest courage, while serving in the army, and while Governor of Reading; and that he undoubtedly was a man of great abilities, evidently appears by many of his letters preserved in Thurlow's state papers.

He attended the trial of the unfortunate Charles every day except January 13th, and signed the warrant for his execution.

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THOMAS SCOT,  
Executed at Charing Cross, 1660.

*Tho. Scot*



## Thomas Scot.

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**T**HE royalists, on the restoration of Charles II., were determined to make dreadful examples of such republican leaders as had distinguished themselves by bringing to trial the unfortunate Charles I.; and Mr. Scot, having particularly exerted himself on that memorable occasion, was among the first selected to expiate with his life the offence he had committed. This gentleman was of very respectable descent, of good property, and had received a liberal education; though his adversaries, by way of reproach, make him out to have been the son of a mean Brewer, and assert that he also had carried on the same business in Bridewell Precinct. But Ludlow, who was intimately connected with him, informs us, that he had been educated in the University of Cambridge; a thing very unlikely, had his friends been of the mean account stated. Certain it is, he was a man of considerable abilities, and acted as a solicitor at Aylesbury, in Buckinghamshire; for which borough, upon a vacancy in the long parliament, he was elected to serve as a member; and, by his alliance with Sir Thomas Mauveler, in wedding his daughter, greatly strengthened his means and power. On this event taking place, he abandoned his profession of an attorney, and entered the parliament army as a major, and was made one of their committee for the county of Berks.

In the year 1645, he, and Mr. Fountain, introduced Colonel Fleetwood into the House of Commons in triumph, though only elected the preceding day. In the Commonwealth he made a very conspicuous figure, and was constantly named one of the executive body; for he was appointed in the Councils of State in 1649, 1650, and 1651; and during all the time the long parliament continued, he had considerable power, and bore a great sway in their proceedings. But, upon that revolution, that transferred the power into the hands of Cromwell, his influence was over, and he became extremely dissatisfied, and looked upon Oliver as a betrayer of that common cause the republicans had ventured every thing to establish. He however strove, and

procured a seat in that parliament, which conferred upon the man he so much disliked, the title of Protector; which, with all the opposition he made to the adoption of, he possessed not power sufficient to prevent. Aylesbury also returned him in the second parliament called by his highness; and in 1656, he was chosen for that place; and endeavoured to be, for the borough of Wickham, in Suffolk; of which Secretary Thurloe, writing to Henry Cromwell, major-general of the army in Ireland, says, "Tom Scot was not content with his election of Aylesbury, but endeavoured to be chosen at Wickham, but lost it there. Colonel Bridges, late major to Okey, is chosen, who, as your lordship knows, is a very honest sober man."

The Protector however, having an utter distaste to Scot, and well knowing the man, would not permit him to take his seat in parliament until he had signed an engagement not to disturb, but to submit to his highness and his government: and although he reluctantly submitted, he still considered the long parliament not legally dissolved; and that meeting in this convention was not owning it a parliament.

Upon the downfall of the Cromwellian interest he rose to a greater consequence than ever he had possessed, and was considered as one of the firmest supporters of the Republic. In November, 1659, he was appointed one of the Council of State, and likewise, in the subsequent one, where he constantly attended, giving out and sealing commissions for raising of forces; and they appointed him Secretary of State, and custos rotulorum of the city of Westminster.

On General Monk's arrival with the army in London, and restoring the secluded members of the long parliament, in order to a dissolution with their own consent; Mr. Crew, one of the members, moved, that before they separated, they should bear their witness against the horrid murder of the king; one of the members protesting that he had neither hand or heart in that affair. Mr. Scot rose in his place, and replied, "Though I know not where to hide my head at this time, yet I dare not refuse to own, that not only my hand, but my heart also was in it; and I desire no greater honour in this world, than that the following inscription may be engraven on my tomb; HERE LIETH ONE WHO HAD A HAND AND A HEART IN THE EXECUTION OF CHARLES STUART, LATE KING OF ENGLAND;" and then left the house, followed by all those attached to his principles.

Mr. Scot, finding the tide of loyalty fast returning, retired into the country;

in order to prevent being seized on by the prevailing powers; and, on the calling of a new parliament, he had still sufficient interest and influence as to be again returned a member: but he never sat; for in all the debates on who should be excepted out of the act of indemnity, he was never omitted in any. Finding his danger inevitable, he got on board a vessel to escape to the Continent, but was intercepted by a kind of piratical crew, who, suspecting what he really was, one of the proscribed republicans; without, however, being able to ascertain it, after plundering him with impunity, they set him on shore in Hampshire.

He still contrived to find friends, who procured him another vessel, which conveyed him to Flanders, where, the instant he landed, he was seized by an agent for the king; but Don Alonzo Cordenas, Governor of the Netherlands, who had received some civilities from Mr. Scot, while he was ambassador to the Commonwealth, with true Castilian honour set him at liberty.

Mr. Scot now considered the best way he could act, would be to surrender himself voluntarily to the English agent, in order that he might the better way claim the benefit of the act of indemnity, within the time limited by law: and was brought over to England in order to take his trial. And October 12th, 1660, he was arraigned at the Sessions House in the Old Bailey. Nothing dismayed, he combated every legal objection made to his defence on the part he acted, as to the trial of the king; and boldly asserted that whatever he did, be it more or less, he did it by the command and authority of a parliamentary power; and did sit as one of the judges of the king, and was justified by his situation as a Member of the Commons, whatever the nature of the fact was. In this, however, he was overruled, by the Lord Chief Baron, who asserted "THERE WAS NO POWER ON EARTH THAT HAD ANY COERCIVE POWER OVER A KING; NEITHER SINGLE PERSONS NOR A COMMUNITY, NEITHER PEOPLE COLLECTIVELY NOR REPRESENTATIVELY;" and challenged Mr. Scot to prove at what time the Commons had assumed the Sovereignty of the Nation; to which, he answered, he could instance many; and being called on to name one, answered, in the time of the Saxons. The court, however, deemed this evasive, as not coming within six hundred years, and pressed strongly against him the Statute twenty-fifth of Edward III, which enacts it treason to imagine and compass the death of the king. In reply, Mr. Scott instanced, the court would not say the king should be a traitor were he to compass the death of the queen: and was answered, the queen

was a subject. Every objection he could urge being over-ruled, the Jury were charged, and he was found guilty; but not before Scot had told Lord Finch, one of his judges, he rather thought he should have been his council; than hastily attempt to direct the jury.

While under sentence, Mr. Scot conducted himself in the same intrepid manner as he had done at his trial, and when his wife mentioned to him her intention of soliciting Sir Orlando Bridgman to be a mediator with the king for his life; he said, perhaps Sir Orlando may think I shall confess guilt, and that I cannot do: for, to this day, I am not convinced of any, as to the death of the king; and that he went too far in asking the benefit of the proclamation, and would not go any further to save a thousand lives.

On his execution at Charing Cross, October 19th, 1660, he justified his conduct against the king, from his apprehension of the approach of popery; but was ever interrupted by the Sheriff, who reminded him the best thing in his situation was to pray, to which in some warmth he replied, "Sir, 'tis hard that an Englishman may not speak; it is a very mean and bad cause that will not bear the words of a dying man; it is not ordinarily denied to people in this condition." But to this the Sheriff replied, "Sir, you had a fair trial, and were found guilty;" and persisted in denying him to speak; and the under Sheriff interposing, told him it had been denied to his predecessors, and would to him; which was ordered by the government, who were fearful of these speeches inflaming the minds of the people.

In conjunction with Matthew Hardy, Esq. Mr. Scot purchased the archiepiscopal palace, at Lambeth, for the sum of 7073*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*; but they not agreeing about their division of it, presented a petition to parliament, which was referred to a committee in November, 1648. Scot having the part allotted to him which has the chapel, threw down the monument of Archbishop Parker, and turned that part of the edifice into a drawing-room; and having sold the leaden coffin to a plumber, threw the remains of the prelate into a hole in one of the out-houses, where they were found at the restoration, and once again, decently interred.

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GREGORY CLEMENT.  
Executed at Charing Cross 1660.

*Gregory Clement*



## Gregory Clement.

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**GREGORY CLEMENT**, a citizen and merchant of London, was a man of reputation and estate, which he greatly improved by trading to Spain; and being every way qualified, he obtained a seat in the long parliament in 1646, and if Ludlow is to be credited, (who was of the same party,) discharged his trust with the utmost diligence and integrity, always joining with those who were most affectionate and ready to serve the commonwealth, though he was never possessed of any place of profit under the republican government.

Mr. Clement became particularly obnoxious to the Episcopal and Cavalier party, by his purchasing the sequestered estates of the bishops, by which he is reported to have made a considerable fortune. The author of "A compleat Collection of the Lives, Speeches, private Passages, Letters, and Prayers of those persons lately executed, 1661, under the assumed title of "A Person of Quality," gravely informs us, "he was a merchant by his first profession, but failing therein, and growing into a desperate fortune, thought to thrive by merchandizing in bishops' lands, whereby he got a considerable estate: and was turned out of the rump parliament for lying with his maid at Greenwich, but was received amongst them again, at their return after Oliver's interruption." Heath and Winstanley, both contemporary writers, the first in his "Chronicle of the Civil Wars," and the second in the "Loyal Martyrelogie," state him to have purchased his seat in parliament; and the writer of "The Mystery of the good old Cause," says, he had scarce been two months in the House of Commons, before he protested he had not more than cleared the purchase money, which was but sixty pounds; and said, as a comfort for himself, that he hoped times would mend. But neither Heath, Winstanley, or the writer of the Good Old Cause, are entitled to the least credit, when they touch on the characters of those men who formed a Tribunal to bring Charles I. to trial; and it must appear evident to every dispassionate man, that a broken bankrupt would never have been enabled to become a considerable



purchaser of lands, under any circumstances in those disastrous times, but one whose ability and responsibility was unquestioned.

Mr. Clement was considered of such consequence both with the army and parliament, that he was put into the commission to try the king; and he is reported to have said on that occasion, "He durst not refuse his assistance." He attended the High Court of Justice all the days in Westminster Hall; and in the Painted Chamber, the 8th, 22nd, 23rd, and 29th of January; and set his hand and seal to the warrant to put the king to death.

On the Restoration of Charles II. he was absolutely excepted from pardon, both as to life and estate; and was apprehended May 26, 1660, and sent to the Tower, at which time an order came to secure the property of all those who had sat in judgment upon the late king.

Ludlow gives a very extraordinary account of the manner in which he was discovered; he says, "Mr. Gregory Clement, one of the king's judges, had concealed himself at a mean house near Gray's Inn; but some persons having observed that better provisions were carried to that place than had been usual, procured an officer to search the house, where he found Mr. Clement; and presuming him to be one of the king's judges, though he knew him not personally, carried him before the commissioners of the militia of that precinct. One of these commissioners, to whom he was not unknown, after a slight examination, had prevailed with the rest to dismiss him; but as he was about to withdraw, it happened that a blind man, who had crowded into the room, and was acquainted with the voice of Mr. Clement, which was very remarkable, desired he might be called in again, and demanded, if he was not Mr. Gregory Clement? The commissioners not knowing how to refuse his request, permitted the question to be asked; and he not denying himself to be the man, was, by that means, discovered.

Mr. Clement was brought to his trial the 12th of October following his commitment, together with Colonel Jones, another of the king's judges; at which time, though he had pleaded not guilty, yet soon after he presented a petition in court, upon his arraignment; the Lord Chief Baron addressing him, said, "If you do confess your offence, your petition will be read;" to whom he replied, "I do, my lord." His lordship then told him, "Mr. Clement, if you do confess, (that you may understand it,) you must, when you are called, and when the jury are to be charged; you must say (if you will have it go by way of confession) that you wave your former plea, and confess

the fact." The clerk of the crown then said, "Gregory Clement, you have been indicted of high treason, for compassing and imagining the death of his late Majesty, and you have pleaded not guilty; are you content to wave that plea, and confess it?" He said, "I do confess myself guilty, my lord." And when asked what he had to say, why sentence should not be pronounced? he only replied, "I pray mercy from the king."

During the time of his imprisonment, and after conviction, Mr. Clement was remarked for his great taciturnity, seldom or never having conversation with any one; but when he found the petition of no avail, and that he must expiate his offence by death; he said, that nothing troubled him so much as his pleading guilty at the time of his trial, which he did to satisfy the importunity of his relations, by which he had rendered himself unworthy to die in so glorious a cause.

He was executed at Charing Cross on the 17th of October, 1660, going from Newgate on the same sledge with Mr. Scot. He made no speech; for, being asked by the sheriff if he had any thing to say, he replied, "No," upon which execution was done; and, being quartered, his head was set upon London Bridge. It is not to be much wondered at, that he should make no set speech, for Ludlow remarks, "that though his apprehension and judgment were not to be despised, yet he had no good elocution."

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## Edmund Ludlow.


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**EDMUND LUDLOW**, a leading character of the republican party during the civil wars, was descended of an ancient and honorable family, originally of Shropshire, afterwards removed into Wiltshire, in which county he was born, at Maiden-Bradley, about 1620. He received an academical education, and was of Trinity College, Oxford; where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, as a qualification for serving his country in parliament; his ancestors having frequently represented the county of Wiltshire. His father, Sir Henry Ludlow, who was a member of the long parliament, and an enemy to the measures of the court, encouraged his son to engage as a volunteer in the Earl of Essex's life-guard; in this station he appeared against the king, at the battle of Edge-Hill, in 1642; and, having raised a troop of horse the next summer, 1643, he joined Sir Edward Hungerford in besieging Wardour Castle. This being taken, he was made governor of it; but being re-taken the following year, 1644, by the king's forces, he was carried prisoner to Oxford. After remaining there some time, he was released by exchange, went to London, and was appointed high sheriff of Wiltshire by the parliament. He declined a command under the Earl of Essex, but accepted the post of major in Sir Arthur Haslerig's regiment of horse, in the army of Sir William Waller, and marched to form the blockade of Oxford. From this place he was immediately sent, with a commission from Sir William, to raise and command a regiment of horse, and was so successful as to be able to join Waller with about five hundred horse, and was engaged in the second battle fought at Newbury. Upon new modelling the army, he was dismissed with Waller, and was not employed again in any post, civil or military, until 1645, when he was chosen in parliament for Wiltshire, in the room of his father, who died in 1643.

Soon after the death of the Earl of Essex, in September, 1646, Ludlow had reason to suspect, from a conversation with Cromwell, who expressed a



EDMUND LUDLOW,  
Died an Exile. 1693.

*Edm. Ludlow* 



dislike to the parliament, and extolled the army; that his ambition would lead him to destroy the civil authority, and establish his own; and, therefore, he gave a flat negative to the vote for returning Oliver thanks, on his shooting Arnell, the agitator, and thereby quelling that faction in the army. In the same spirit of what has been called pure republicanism, he joined in the vote for not addressing the king, and in the declaration for bringing him to a trial; and soon after, in a conference with Cromwell, and the leaders of the army, he harangued upon the necessity and justice of the king's execution, and, after that, the establishment of an equal commonwealth, in which he differed with another violent republican, Lilburne, who was for new modelling the army first, and then, as a natural consequence, putting the king to death. It was Ludlow that induced the Wiltshire people to agree to the raising of two regiments of foot, and one of horse, against the Scots, when they were preparing to release the king from Carisbrook Castle. After which he went to Fairfax, at the siege of Colchester, and prevailed with him to oppose entering into any treaty with the king; and when the House of Commons, on Charles's answer from Newport, voted that his concessions were ground for a future settlement, Ludlow not only expressed his dissatisfaction, but had a principal share both in forming and executing the scheme of forcibly excluding all that party from the house, by Colonel Pride, in 1648. And agreeable to all those proceedings, he sat upon the bench at the trial and condemnation of the king, concurred in the vote that the House of Peers was useless and dangerous, and became a member of the Council of State.

In 1649, he was one of the five nominated by the parliament to form the Council of State, in whom was vested the executive power. Soon after he purchased the episcopal manors of east Knoel and Upton, in the county of Wilts, the obtaining of which cost him the whole of his wife's fortune, and a much larger sum raised by the sale of a part of his patrimonial estate; judging, as he states himself, that if a counter-revolution came, he should be as liable to lose his old as his new estates.

He was soon after appointed lieutenant-general of the horse, and went with Cromwell and Ireton into Ireland, for which kingdom he sailed in company with the other commissioners of parliament, and Lady Ireton; and was, together with Cromwell, Ireton, Colonels John Jones, and Miles Corbet, delegated to govern the affairs of that kingdom.

In Ireland he was very much caressed by his own party, but the instant

he learnt that Oliver was declared Protector, he refused to act any longer in his civil office, though he resolved to retain his rank in the army; and he told Henry Cromwell, the Protector's second son, when he came to Ireland, that he would not submit to any power but the parliament, saying, what he averred was "not personal, but would be the same were my own father alive, and in the place of yours."

When the army in Ireland drew up a petition to the Protector, acknowledging him as such, and expressing their duty to him, he took means to prevent its being signed; and when Lieutenant General Fleetwood sent to him to resign his commission on that account, he refused, telling the messenger it was in such a part of the house, and he might take it; but he would not give it him. Fleetwood then reasoned with him respecting his conduct; but all his answer was, he soon meant to retire in peace to England; but he drew up a letter stating his having received his commission from the parliament, and justifying a manifesto he had published, containing the grounds of his dissatisfaction,

After much bickering and altercation, he had the alternative offered him to remain in Ireland as a prisoner, or to appear before the Protector, and he chusing the latter, expected to have been put on board a man of war, and sent into England; but he was detained for some time, and then told he might go and settle his affairs in England, if he would return into Ireland within six months, and give his promise not to engage against the government; but he continued to act in so very high a style, that his regiment was disbanded as unfit to serve, and himself watched with the greatest jealousy and care.

However narrowly every motion of Ludlow's was marked by the Irish deputy, Henry Cromwell, he found means to escape, and cross the channel to Beaumaris; but was there seized and detained, till he subscribed an engagement never to act against the government then established. But this being made with some reserve, he was pressed, on his arrival in London, in December, 1655, to make it absolute; which he refused to do, and endeavoured to draw Major General Harrison, and Hugh Peters, into the same opinion. Cromwell, therefore, after trying in vain, in a private conference to prevail upon him to subscribe, sent him an order from the Council of State, to give security in the sum of 5000*l.* not to act against the new government, within three days, on pain of being taken into custody. Not obeying the

order, he was apprehended by the president's warrant; but the security being given by his brother, Thomas Ludlow, though he says without his consent, he retired into Essex, where he continued until the death of Oliver. He was then returned in the new parliament, called upon Richard Cromwell's accession to the protectorate; and either from connivance or fear on the part of the government, was suffered to sit in the house without taking the oath required of every member, not to act or contrive any thing against the Protector. Ludlow was afterwards very active in procuring the restoration of the Rump Parliament; in which, with the rest, he took possession of his seat again; and, the same day, was appointed one of the Committee of Safety. Soon after this he obtained a regiment, through the interest of Sir Arthur Haslerig; and, in a little time, was nominated one of the Council of State, every member of which took an oath to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth, in opposition to Charles Stuart, or any single person. He was likewise appointed by parliament one of the commissioners for naming and approving officers in the army.

The Wallingford House party, to remove him out of the way, recommended him to the parliament for the post of commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, in the room of Henry Cromwell; and he accordingly arrived with that command, at Dublin, in August, 1659; but, in September, receiving Lambert's petition to parliament, for settling the government under a representation and select senate, he procured a counter petition to be signed by the officers of the army near Dublin, declaring their resolution of adhering closely to the parliament; and soon after, with the consent of Fleetwood, set out for England. On his arrival at Beaumaris, hearing that the army had turned the parliament out of the house, and resumed the supreme power, he hesitated for some time about proceeding on his journey, but at length resolved upon it; and, on his arrival at Chester, finding an addition made to the army's scheme of government, by which all the officers were to receive new commissions from Fleetwood, and that a Committee of Safety, consisting of twenty-one members, of which he was one, and that he was also continued one of the committee for nomination of officers; he set out for London the next day, and arrived there October 29th, 1659. The Wallingford House party prevailing to have a new parliament called, Ludlow opposed it with all his power, in defence of the rump, and proposed to qualify the power of the army by a council of twenty-one, under the denomination of the Conservators



of Liberty; but, being defeated in this, by the influence of the Wallingford House party, he resolved to return to his post in Ireland, and had the satisfaction to know, before he left London, that it was at last carried to restore the old parliament, which was done two or three days after. In Ireland however he was far from being well received. Dublin was barred against him, and, landing at Duncannon, he was blockaded there by a party of horse, pursuant to an order of the Council of Officers, who likewise charged him with several crimes and misdemeanors against the army. He wrote an answer to this charge; but, before he sent it away, received an account that the parliament had confirmed the proceedings of the Council of Officers at Dublin against him; and, about a week after, he received a letter from them, signed William Lenthall, recalling him home.

Upon this, he embarked for England, and on his way to London, found by the public news, that Sir Charles Coote had exhibited a charge of high treason against him. No way dismayed, he had the boldness to go to the parliament, but none of the members treated him with asperity; on the contrary, some jestingly told him, that he was received "in a manner not usual for men accused of high treason." He found his charge to be, assisting the army in England, and doing acts of hostility by sea and land against those in Ireland, who had declared for the parliament. Ludlow obtained a copy of this charge, and moved to be heard in his defence; but the approach of Monk gave a new turn to public affairs. He waited on that general, and was so far deceived, as to believe that Monk was inclined to a republic. But soon learning his real design, Ludlow first applied to Sir Arthur Haslerig, to draw their scattered forces together to oppose the general; but finding that proposal not listened to, he endeavoured, with the other republicans, to prevent the dissolution of the rump, by ordering writs to be issued to fill up the vacant seats; but the speaker refused to sign the warrants. He also pressed very earnestly to be heard concerning the charge of high treason, lodged against him from Ireland, to no purpose; so that, when the members secluded in 1648, returned to the house with Monk's approbation, he withdrew himself from it, until being elected for the borough of Hindon, (part of his own estate) to the convention parliament, which met April 24th, 1660, he took his seat in the House of Commons, in pursuance of an order he had received to attend his duty there. He now also sent orders to collect his rents, and dispose of his effects in Ireland; but was prevented by Sir Charles

Coote, who seized both, the stock alone amounting to 1500*l.*, and on the vote in parliament passing to apprehend all who had signed the warrant for the late king's execution, he only escaped detection by frequently shifting his lodgings.

Finding every thing lost, and not willing to trust himself in the hands of government, he took leave of his friends and relations, and passing in a coach, at the close of the day, through the city, over London Bridge, to St. George's Church, in Southwark, a person waited to present him with two horses; mounting one, his guide conducted him safe to Lewes, by carefully shunning the great roads; and he passed over to Dieppe in the very vessel which had just returned from conveying the protector Richard to the continent. It had by accident been struck upon the sands; and the person who came to search those who lay there, fortunately for him never went to it, supposing, from its appearance, that it neither had people nor property on board. It was remarkable too, that the master, who had been accustomed to go to the ports of Ireland at the time when he had been one of the chief persons in that kingdom, amongst other things, inquired, "if Lieutenant General Ludlow was imprisoned, with the rest of the king's judges," to which he answered, "I have not heard of any such thing."

Passing through France, he came to Geneva; but thinking himself not safe there, he removed to Lausanne, in Switzerland, where he found every protection he could desire, and lived generally esteemed, admired, and respected; the inhabitants of that country entertaining the same principles of government with himself.

Here he lived thirty-two years, surviving the reign of Charles II., and saw James II. dethroned, and driven into exile like himself; after which event, he set sail for Ireland, to assist at the siege of Londonderry, in the year 1689; but King William III, learning that one of his maternal grandfather's judges was in the fleet, sent him a message to quit it, or he must have him seized. Ludlow complied with this mandate, and returned to Switzerland, and died at Vevay, in the Canton of Bern, in 1693, in his seventy-third year. Some of his last words were wishes for the prosperity, peace, and glory of his country. His body was interred in the best church of the town, in which his lady erected a monument of her conjugal affection to his memory. She was the daughter of Michael Oldsworth, of Essex, Esq., a Member of Parliament for Salisbury, Governor of Pembroke and Montgomery, also keeper of

Windsor Park, and one of the two masters of the prerogative office, and who also received other places of emolument under the Commonwealth.

Ludlow was one of the commissioners appointed by the parliament and army to try the king, and sat very constantly, absenting himself only on the 12th, 13th, 18th, and 19th of January; he signed the death-warrant, and informs us in his *Memoirs*, "He had the *honour* to be one of the king's judges."

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PETER TEMPLE, KNT

Died a Prisoner.

*De Temple*



## Sir Peter Temple.

SIR PETER TEMPLE, Bart., was son and heir of Sir Thomas Temple, of Stow, in Buckinghamshire, Bart., by Hester, daughter of Miles Sandys, Esq. of Latimer, in Bucks; who was the lady that had so many descendants.\*

King Charles I. knighted him, June 6th, 1641; he served for the town of Buckingham in the two last parliaments of that sovereign, and went with his party all their lengths, both in the parliament and in the army; in which he was a colonel, until the death of the king was resolved upon, when he wisely declined serving any longer with them.

He fell into great embarrassment in his fortune; and an ordinance passed relative to it, in consequence of the petitions he and his lady, and creditors had presented to the house, which had been referred to a committee.

Sir Peter was twice married; his first lady was Ann, daughter and co-heir of Sir Arthur Throgmorton, of Palesbury, in Northamptonshire, Knt., by whom he had only two daughters; Ann, married to Thomas, Viscount Balinglass; and Martha, to Weston, Earl of Londonderry. His second lady was Christiana, daughter of Sir John Leveson, of Trentham, in Staffordshire, Knight of the Bath; by whom he had Sir Richard Temple, his successor, ancestor of the Marquis of Buckingham; Francis, and Hester.

One of these Lady Temples, Whitlock accuses of being "a busy woman, and a great politician in her own opinion, who was made use of by the Lord Say, to whom she was allied, and by the Lord Saville, to carry on some correspondence with the court at Oxford, to know whether Mr. Hollis, afterwards Lord Hollis, and Mr. Whitlock, had any secret communication with the Duke of Richmond and the Earl of Lindsay, or any other of the king's party, which gave them some trouble."

\* Dr. Fuller informs us that Hester, the widow lady of Sir Thomas Temple, of Stow, Bart. saw seven hundred descendants; and avers the truth by a wager he lost upon it.

The three brothers of Sir Peter Temple were all warm parliamentarians. Colonel Sir John Temple, Knt., was one of the commissioners for Munster, in Ireland. Thomas Temple, LL.D., was voted by an ordinance of parliament to be "put into a parsonage:" and Miles, the youngest, was in the army, and much distinguished himself. The alliances of this family, also, all leaned to the republican interest.

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PETER TEMPLE, Esq., was a relation, probably a near one, of Sir Peter Temple, Bart. Having an elder brother, he served an apprenticeship to a linen draper in Friday Street, London; but this brother dying, he came into an estate of four hundred pounds a year, in the county of Leicester, near the town of that name; and obtained a seat in the long parliament as one of its members; and joining with the other representative, Sir Arthur Haslerig, in all their extravagances, became a committee-man for that shire, and had a commission in the army; but he rose no higher than a captain of horse.

He was put in amongst the king's judges; and so inveterate was he against his degraded sovereign, that he omitted only two days' attendance at his pretended trial, the 12th and 13th; and he also signed the warrant for the completion of the tragedy.

He was excepted out of the act of indemnity; and having surrendered himself, was brought to his trial with his relative, James Temple, Esq. At his arraignment, he pleaded "Not Guilty;" but at his trial said—

"*Prisoner.* When I was here the last time I pleaded not guilty—the reason was, because there are divers things in the indictment that my conscience tells me I am not guilty of; for I had not a malicious or traitorous heart against the king. To save your lordship's time, I will confess it.

"*Counsel.* Were you there when sentence was given?

"*Prisoner.* Yes, Sir.

"*Counsel.* Shew him the warrants, (which being shewn him, he said,)—

"*Prisoner.* I acknowledge they are my hand, and refer it to your lordship."

Being convicted, and asked if he could give any reason why sentence should not pass, he said,

"*Prisoner.* My lord, I came in upon the proclamation, and I humbly beg the benefit of it."

Sentence was then passed upon him; but no execution followed, his life being given; but he remained a prisoner until his death.

The character given of this regicide is, that of an ignorant, opiniative person, who was entirely the tool of Cromwell. Happy would it have been, had his brother lived, and he had continued to sell out the articles of his trade; or when that event did happen, that he had gone down and cultivated a part of the family estate, leaving the intricacies of politics to persons every way better qualified. It is allowed that he was brave; but he seems to have been busy only to his own injury, and risked his life in the field only for the aggrandisement of others.

\* The above account of the two Peter Temples is given by the Rev. Mark Noble, in his lives of the English regicides. But the learned and reverend gentleman has evidently fallen into many errors, particularly in regard to the matrimonial alliances of the regicide Baronet, who had but one wife, and that of neither name described in Mr. Noble's account; her name was Eleanor, to whom Sir Peter dedicated his work, entitled "Man's Masterpiece," a small volume in 12mo, printed in 1658, and to which is prefixed two portraits, now very rare, of Sir Peter and his lady, by Gaywood; it was this person, and not the petty dealer, whose life was spared in consideration of his repentance, and the respectability of his family. The late Marquis of Buckingham, who was a distinguished patron of Sherwin the engraver, put into his hands the two copper plates of Sir Peter and his lady, for the purpose of taking off a few impressions; but by some mischance the plates were lost, and sold to a dealer in old metal for the weight of copper, from whom they were purchased by a man named Lemoine, who parted with them to the elder Grave, printseller, for half a guinea, at whose death, at the sale of his stock of prints, and copper plates, these appearing among the rest, were claimed and given up to the marquis; the impressions for years previous to this discovery of the plates, mostly selling from two to three guineas each.

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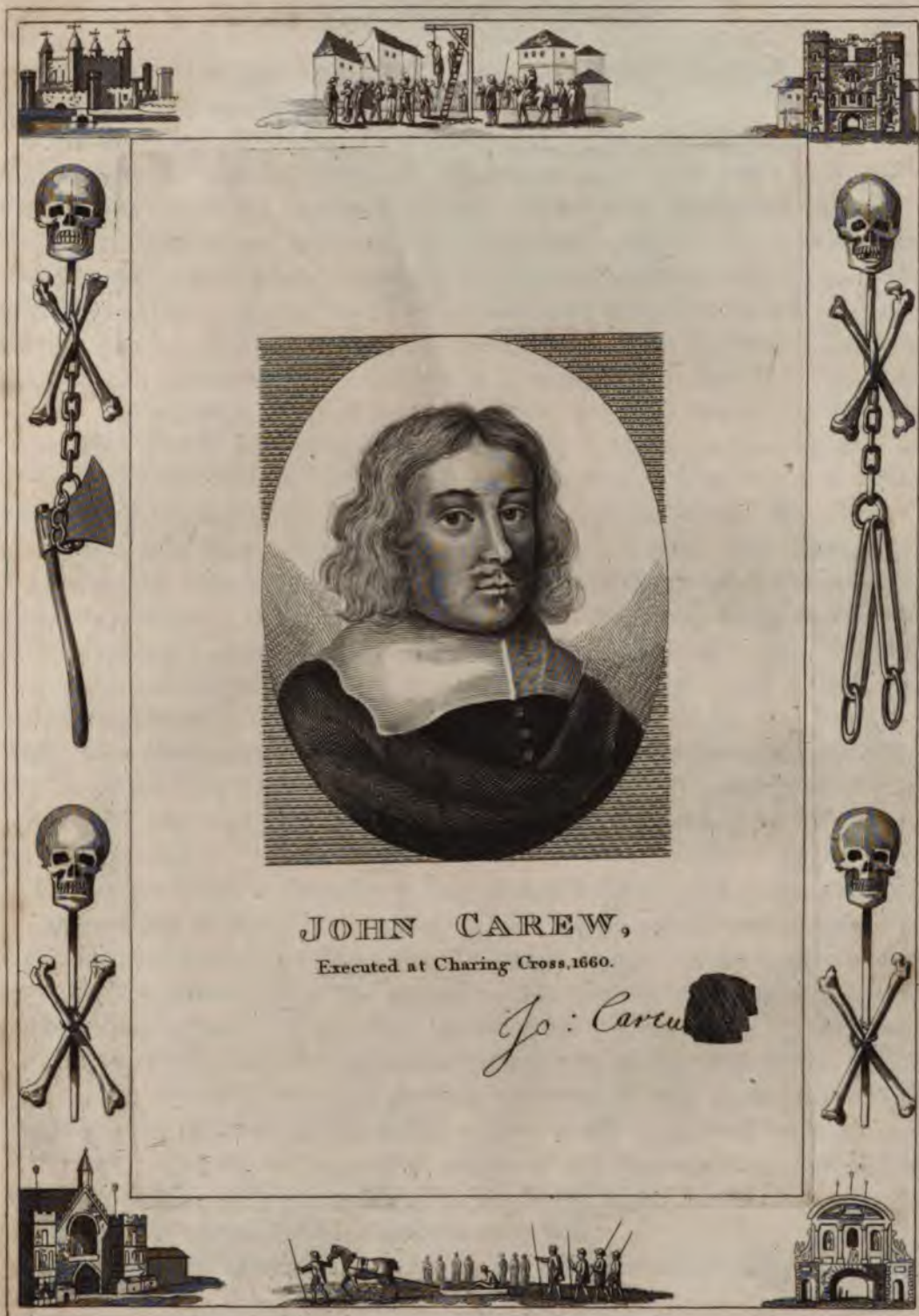
## John Carew.

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**MR. CAREW** was descended from an ancient and honourable family, long seated in Cornwall, and was the second son of Sir Richard Carew, of Anthony, in that county, created a baronet by Charles I. in 1641. This gentleman was extremely unfortunate in his two eldest sons, though they suffered death in different causes; the eldest, Sir Alexander, was one of the knights of the shire for Cornwall in 1640, and for a time appeared (as he certainly was by principle) firmly attached to the republican interest. He had received a commission in the parliament army, and was governor of St. Nicholas Island near Plymouth; but on the success of the royalists in the west of England, fearing the loss of his estate, which was large in that quarter, he deserted the parliament army, and went over to that of the king; shortly after, however, falling into the hands of the prevailing power, he was brought to a court martial for desertion, found guilty, and beheaded on Tower Hill, December 23rd, 1644. He affected great religion and humility at his death, and confessed it was more from the fear of losing his estate than affection for the royal cause, that prompted him to act in the way he had done.

Mr. John Carew, on the contrary, whatever his other failings might be, was consistent in firmly supporting, to the last moment of his existence, the republican principles, with which he first set out in public life. He was returned to serve in the long parliament, as one of the members for the borough of Tregony, in Cornwall; and, in 1646, two years after the execution of his brother, so constant was his affection to the cause of the parliament, that it appointed him one of the commissioners to receive the king at Holdenby.

Cromwell, Ireton, Ludlow, and the other principal leaders of the republicans, were so well convinced of his political opinions, that he was one of the first named in the commission to try the king; nor were they mistaken in the knowledge of their man, for he sat every day, both in the Painted Chamber







and in Westminster Hall, in which they met; and put his hand and seal to the warrant for carrying the sentence into execution.

After the death of the king, Cromwell rose to the pinnacle of power, and the parliament, with the president Bradshaw, were little more than play-things within his mighty grasp, to amuse or crush at his pleasure; and when he had put them down, and assumed more than sovereign sway, it was not in the power of such a pigmy as Carew, to stem the torrent of his rising greatness. Mr. Carew, Major General Harrison, and other republicans, had imbibed millenary opinions, and became rigid Fifth-monarchy Men. Looking upon human government as an encroachment upon the Messiah's kingdom, which they flattered themselves they should speedily see established on earth, they viewed both King Charles and the Protector Oliver equally as Usurpers against Christ; and became so clamorous and unruly, that effectually to silence them, the Protector had the most turbulent amongst them conducted to different prisons. Mr. Carew, for a time, was confined at Pendinnis, in Cornwall; but afterwards was only restricted to remain quiet in his own house. During his restraint at Pendinnis, one Hannah Trapnèl, a pretended prophetess, something of the Quaking principle, had troubled the neighbourhood of the Protector's residence in Whitehall; and it was given out she had been in several trances, in which she had uttered strong expressions, as revelation against the person and government of his highness; being sent to prison for a time as a vagabond and impostor, on regaining her liberty, out of pure zeal went on pilgrimage to Pendinnis, to console with Mr. Carew on his captivity.

During the life of the Protector, Mr. Carew lived in great retirement; but on the coming of King Charles II., he was apprehended, and conveyed to London, in order to his being brought to trial; in most of the towns he past through, the generality of the people reviled him in the following terms: "Hang him, rogue." "Pistol him," said others. "Hang him up," said some (at Salisbury) "at the next sign-post, without any farther trouble." "Look," said others, "how he doth not alter his countenance; but we believe he will tremble when he comes to the ladder. This is the rogue will have no king but Jesus." Indeed, the rage of the people all the way was such, that had he not been armed with the greatest fortitude, he must have sunk under the torrent of abuse hurled around him on every side.

Other accounts state that he publicly set out to come to London, in obe-

dience to the order of parliament for all the king's judges to surrender themselves in that city within fourteen days. Being known, he was apprehended by a warrant from a justice of peace; but though his name was mistaken in the warrant, and the officer refused to detain him until the error was rectified, he took no advantage of it, but told him he was the person meant, he believed; acquainting him whither, and for what purpose he was going; and though this was within the fourteen days, yet when application was made to the parliament to adjudge it a surrender in obedience to their proclamation, they would not admit it, excepting him both as to life and estate absolutely, without any farther delay of execution, if he should be found guilty.

Mr. Carew was brought to trial at the Old Bailey before Judge Foster, October 12th, 1660, and was put to the bar with Scot, Jones, and Clement; but on account of their several challenges he was tried alone. He then challenged twenty-three of the jury, and being told by the Lord Chief Baron that he might have pen, ink, and paper, he declined it, having, as he said, no occasion for them. Upon the reading of his indictment, which charged him that he had committed that horrid murder, not having the fear of God before his eyes, but being led by the instigation of the devil; he pleaded error to the indictment, saying, that what was done was not in such a fear, but in the fear of the Most Holy and most righteous Lord. "I say that I did it in the fear of the Lord; and I will begin with that, and confess ingenuously the truth of it. When this came into question, there was an ordinance brought in to try the king, where my name was not as one of the judges. There was another afterwards, an act which I shall mention upon what ground by and by, what that was; and that act was brought in and committed, and names brought in, and my name was not brought in, and so afterwards my name was put in; and seeing it, I did strike it out; after the committee was up, I told them, I did desire to be excused in such a business. I have told you how, wherein, and the ground that I did it; which I shall leave with the Lord, in whose hand your and my breath, and all our breaths are; and, therefore, when it was so, I did, because of the weight of it, as being a very great and special thing; and so I was very unwilling, because of there being enow, who I thought had more experience every way for so great a concernment as that was, to be employed rather than I; yet being satisfied with that authority that did it. This is to shew you, how that I had the fear of the Lord, and did weigh the things. After that, when the bill was brought into

the house, my name was put in there with several others, so I came to be in ; and what I did, was upon these two accounts. First, in obedience (as I told you) to the Lord, which was the chief thing ; and in obedience to that which was then the supreme authority of this nation ; and, therefore, I shall mention these grounds very briefly ; because, indeed, the things that are controverted here at this time, they have been controverted in the face of the whole world, in several nations ; and the Lord hath given an answer upon solemn appeals to these things ; I shall therefore mention them very briefly, because they have been so public. The declaration and remonstrances that have passed between the king and parliament, concerning the beginning of the wars——”

Here being interrupted by the court, who remarked, they were not to sit and hear discourses and debates in justification of treason ; as they were on their consciences, and to appear before God for what they did ; and remembered Mr. Carew, that the devil sometimes appears in the habit of an angel of light.

*Carew.* You say you sit here by the laws of the land, and are sworn to maintain the laws ; we ought not then to plead to this indictment, for what we did was by an Act of Parliament. In the year 1640, there was a parliament called, according to the laws and constitutions of this nation ; and after that, there was some difference between the king and the parliament, the two houses of parliament, Lords and Commons ; and thereupon the king did withdraw from the two houses of parliament, as appears by their own declaration, *The Great Remonstrance*, printed in 1642, and thereupon the Lords and Commons did declare——

*Court.* Mr. Carew, the Court are of opinion not to suffer you to go on in this ; they say it tends not only to justify your act, but you cast in bones here to make some difference. You talk of the Lords and Commons ; you have nothing to do with that business ; your authority that you pretend to was an Act of Parliament, (as they called themselves) and that where there was forty-six Commons in the house, and but twenty-six voted it.

*Council.* Did you sign the warrants for summoning the court, and for execution of the king ?

*Carew.* Yes, I did sign them both.

*Council.* Then say what you will.

*Carew.* I desire I may be heard ; I have not compassed the death of the

late king, nor contrived the death of the late king; what I did, I did by authority.

*Lord Chief Baron.* Mr. Carew, you have been heard, and beyond what was fit to say in your own defence; that which you have said, the heads of it you see the whole court have over-ruled. To suffer you to expatiate against God and the king, by blasphemy, is not to be endured; it is suffering poison to go about to infect people; but they know now too well the old saying, *In Nomine Domini*, 'In the name of the Lord,' all mischiefs have been done; that hath been an old rule. I must now give directions to the jury, &c.

After a very small time of consultation by the jury amongst themselves at the bar, they brought in a verdict of guilty.

When word was brought him that Major General Harrison was dead, he said, "Well, my turn will be next, and as we have gone along in our lives, so must we be one in our death. The Lord God grant that I may have strength from himself to follow courageously to the last breath, and that I may much honor and glorify God, whom I have made profession of. I can do nothing of myself, but my strength is in the Lord of Hosts, who hath helped me from my beginning to this day, and will help me to the end."

Being told that his nephew and some others were doing their utmost for his reprieve; he replied, there is nothing to be done, for the sheriff hath brought me word (just now) that I must die to-morrow, and that there were some that desired I might not be quartered, but it would not be granted: death is nothing to me, let them quarter my body never so much, God will bring all those pieces together again. He said also, he had not the least regret or disturbance on his spirit about that for which he was to die, for what he did was of the Lord, and if it were to be done again he would do it: and the way they took to suppress and destroy those that did not think the king's person sacred, their blood will make many hundreds more persuaded of the truth of it: it was grievous to him to hear how at his trial they blasphemed God and his people; but he was resolved he would own the Lord among them, which they could not bear, therefore they were so violent against him. He said the gospel was going from London, and popery and superstition, &c. was coming in; and it would be a rare thing to find a professor of religion in London shortly. He encouraged those about him to keep close to the Lord in this evil day. "O," said he, "who would have thought some years since, that popery and formality should have been let in again to these nations?" He

said they were so barbarous they would not allow him some small time to take a little rest before he was to suffer, which was all he needed or desired, for he was much tired with speaking to company which came continually in. He desired to be remembered to some friends, and tell them, *that this was the last beast, and his rage was great because his time was short*. Some more expressions he uttered to this effect; but in all his words and manner of speaking, he manifested the highest magnanimity and greatness of mind.

On Monday, October 15th, 1660, Mr. Carew was drawn from Newgate to *Charing Cross* on a hurdle; first, having (as it is said) prepared himself by drinking three pints of sack to bear up his spirits, which caused a more than ordinary flushing in his face all the way he went, and perspiration so much, that his handkerchief could scarcely keep the water from running down his face; but his spirits, notwithstanding thus encouraged, could not quite outdare the coming conflict. Being arrived at the ladder, he lifted up his hands, and his eyes, and had some private ejaculations to himself. He spoke very little, having now, as he said, little else to do but pray, in which he was but short; wherein he desired God to guide and direct the king's majesty, to bless the three nations with peace and happiness, and all sorts of people therein: after which he submitted, and being turned off the ladder, he was soon dead, and quartered; which being done, his quarters were begged by his brother of the king, and by him they were buried.

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## Adrian Scroop.

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**COLONEL ADRIAN SCROOP** was descended of a very ancient and respectable family in Buckinghamshire, the head of which was ennobled, and Mr. Scroop himself was possessed of a very considerable estate: he was of puritanical principles, and a great stickler against episcopacy. At the commencement of the troubles, he took up arms in support of the parliament, and went forth at first a captain of horse, which he raised himself, at the head of which he appeared at the battle of Edge-Hill; he immediately after attained the rank of major, and soon became a colonel of horse.

In 1647, he united with other officers in the army, in presenting a charge against the eleven members, whom the parliament had taken exceptions to, and was sent to suppress a revolt, as it was termed, in Dorsetshire, occasioned by a clergyman of the name of Wake, having presumed to use the liturgy of the Church of England, to his congregation; and when the puritans had gone in to present it, the people had rescued their minister, and soundly beaten those sent to apprehend him, which was so great a grievance, that the committee of Derby House had represented the outrage to the general.

In 1648, Colonel Scroop again took the field, and his success was communicated to the public, in a tract containing four leaves, entitled "A great victory obtained by Collonell Scroope against the Duke of Buckingham, at Saint Needs, in Huntintonshire, on Munday, July 10th, 1648, where was slain Col. Dolbier, quartermaster, three officers more, eight troopers. Taken prisoners: Earl of Holland, thirty officers and gentlemen, one hundred and twenty troopers. The Duke of Buckingham\* fled with two hundred

\* When the Duke of Buckingham entered St. Neots, he made the following speech to the Magistrates of that place. "Gentlemen, we come not hither to carry any thing from you, but have given strict orders, that neither officers nor soldiers take what is yours away. Nor are our intentions to make a new war, but to rescue the kingdom from the arbitrary power of the Committee of





COL. ADRIAN SCROOP,  
Executed at Charing Cross, 1660.

*Ad Scrope*







horse. Taken besides, two hundred horse, one hundred and fifty fire-arms, one hundred great saddles; powder, some pounds; silver and gold, and store of other good plunder. The Earl of Holland's blew ribbon and his George.— London: printed for the general satisfaction of moderate men, 1648.”

This tract in substance states “that Lieutenant Colonel Scroop was sent with seven troops of horse to pursue this cavalier party towards the eastern association, lest they should attempt *Lynne*, or some other dangerous place, and if they did stop, he might fall upon them. The lords, with the cavaliers, were in number, then, between four and five hundred, all horse, but, as they went, left divers tired by the way. Their custom was, when they came into fresh quarters, they would declare to those towns where they came; and make speeches to court the magistrates and inhabitants (at which the Earl of Holland had a better faculty than at the sword). But when they arrived at St. Neots, the Earl of Holland was so weary and shaken in his joints, that he had a better will to his bed than his horse, especially not knowing the end of his distracted journey.

It was on a Sunday night they took up their quarters at this place, but with a great deal of fear, knowing how hotly they were pursued. A Council of War was immediately called by the lords and officers, at which they had some debates which way to march the next morning. Quartermaster-general Dolbier (who was an old officer of the late Lord General the Earl of Essex,) had joined with them, and was esteemed an eminent officer among them, to whose advice they much adhered. And he engaged to make good this town of St. Neots, against any party that should pursue them; and that he would engage his life, which he would lose rather than see them surprised there that night. Dolbier watched, and drank sack stiffly that night, and all was quiet. But a little before sun-rising the next morning, Monday, July 10th, there came an alarm to the town, which made the Cavaliers cry, “All to Horse, Horse,” the Lords and chief officers being most of them in bed.

The Duke of Buckingham was not long before he was up, drest and mounted, and so others. But the Earl of Holland took more deliberation to dress himself. About sun-rising Colonel Scroop came up to the Town's

the several counties, that labour to continue a bloody war, to destroy you. Our resolution for peace is, by a well-settled government under our Royal King Charles, and do bless God that he hath made us instruments to serve the King, the Parliament, and Kingdom in the way of peace.”

end, where he found some opposition, but both he and the rest of the officers and soldiers were very resolved.

Dolbier made some opposition, but in the charge was slain with some twelve more, and then they all began to retreat, and fled, some one way, some another; the Duke went with nigh two hundred towards Huntington, but the Earl of Holland, who had got out of his bed, but not quite dressed, was taken; to whom quarter was at that time given, though he shortly after was executed.

Soon after this affair, Colonel Scroop, with eight troops of horse and dragoons, made their way to Yarmouth, which was attacked by the Prince and the Duke of York. That place, upon his coming thither, told him, "They would adhere to the Parliament against all interests; and that if his excellence the Lieutenant-General should command it, they would admit his forces into the town, and that they should have liberty upon all occasions to march through the town, but that they were able themselves to suppress every sedition that should arise within themselves."

Colonel Scroop's sentiments were so well known with respect to a republican government, and the dislike he had to the person of the King, that he was appointed one of the Commissioners of the High Court of Justice; which he said he was led into through the persuasion of Cromwell, as being an officer in the army, though he was never in parliament; and what was rarely seen in any other members of that tribunal, he sat every day in the Painted Chamber, and in Westminster Hall, and signed and sealed the warrant for the King's execution.

After the death of the King, Colonel Scroop's regiment was drawn by lot to go to Ireland; but his men chose to act as they thought most convenient for their own ease, and declared they would not go thither; but sent letters to General Ireton to acquaint him with their resolution; but at length some of the men softened, and declared for their general, expressing their readiness to go whithersoever he commanded, and the rest immediately followed their example. Scroop was, however, excused going to that kingdom, being appointed in October 1649, governor of Bristol Castle, where he remained for some time; and when the Parliament thought proper to slight that government, he was appointed in 1657, one of the Commissioners to Scotland, in conjunction with General Monk, Lord Broghill, and others; this change was contrived by the policy of Cromwell, who felt convinced Scroop's republican sentiments might have done him much mischief in so important a place as Bristol; and that his title of Protector was equally obnoxious as that of a king could be.

Ludlow was of this opinion. When speaking of Scroop's removal, he says, "Not daring to trust a person of so much honour and worth with a place of that consequence."

Upon the arrival of Charles the Second in England, he issued a proclamation commanding those that were his father's judges to appear, who had either fled the kingdom or hidden themselves, in order to claim the indemnity within a limited time. Colonel Scroop, in order to avail himself of this benefit, comes in and delivers himself up to the Speaker, with some others, and a vote was made, that he should be only fined a year's value of his estate: but soon after falling into discourse with General Brown concerning the trial and death of King Charles, Colonel Scroop strenuously justified himself as to the way in which he had acted, and said, "*He did believe it to be no murder,*" with other expressions tending to prove that the king did deserve death; which being reported to the Parliament, he was wholly excepted out of the act of general pardon: and being brought to his trial in the Old Bailey, October 12, 1660, he pleaded not guilty, and in his defence stated he did not so much as attempt to justify the act of which he stood accused, as the power by which he acted, saying the authority was owned both at home and abroad, and that he was no Parliament man, but acted by their authority and commission, who were then the supreme authority of the nations, and he hoped that authority would excuse him. This plea, however, being over-ruled, the jury were directed, who brought him in guilty; and on Wednesday, October 17, following, he was brought from Newgate to Charing Cross upon a hurdle. He appeared very cheerful during this his last earthly journey, and viewed the gibbet undismayed, but bewailed his unfortunate discourse with General Brown, which he attributed as the cause of his being brought thither. After praying some time very fervently, he was hung, and afterwards quartered.

Colonel Scroop's nephew visiting him in his dungeon the night before he suffered, said to him, "Uncle, I am sorry to see you in this condition, and would desire you to repent of the fact, for which you are brought hither, and stand to the King's mercy;" and more words to the same effect. Whereupon Colonel Scroop put forth his hand, and thrust him away, using these words, "*Avoid Satan.*"

## John Jones.

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It must be with the greatest caution, that any account should be received from contemporary writers, of the men who formed the tribunal that brought King Charles the First to a trial, and to his premature death. The Rev. Mark Noble, a writer of more modern date, is fain to give every one of them at least the appellation of Esq. He candidly confesses, this Jones was undoubtedly a soldier of fortune, though he had a small patrimony of his own (enough to say his parents were not beggars,) and was entirely in the commonwealth interest, which he constantly pursued; and that no circumstance of his life perhaps was more pleasing to him, than that in which he sat as a judge upon his sovereign.\*

The Person of *quality*, who put forth "A Compleat Collection of the Lives, Speeches, private Passages, Letters, and Prayers, of those Persons lately executed, 1661," gravely informs us, "that Colonel John Jones came of a mean family in Wales; was a man of no repute before the war; was sent up to London to be an apprentice, but was placed as a serving-man to a gentleman; and afterwards was preferred to Sir Thomas Middleton, Lord Mayor of London, with whom he lived many years in the said capacity; but the wars coming on, he, like the rest, thought it would be good fishing in troubled waters. He went forth at the beginning of the wars a captain of foot, and by his factious principles, which at that time was the only way to get into preferment, he was taken notice of, and was countenanced and advanced by the Cromwelian party; by reason whereof he was chosen a Parliament man in an absent place, and by degrees came to be made Governor of *Anglesey*, in *North-Wales*, and several other successive employments, &c. &c. &c.


Mr. Jones must have come to London at a very early age, Sir Thomas Middleton serving the office of Mayor in 1613, to whom he was in all probabi-

\* The Rector of Barming, while compiling his lives of the Regicides, doubtless had in view the splendid thought of the first vacant MITRE, as a reward for his labours.





JOHN JONES.  
Executed at Charing Cross, 1660.

*J Jones* 







lity related, and recommended to, for the purpose of advancing his fortune; neither is it likely, had he been a man of the mean account stated, that he would on his first outset in the army have obtained the rank of Captain. Certain it is, he was a man of considerable abilities,\* and greatly trusted both by the Parliament, and the Protector, whose sister Jones had married.

Col. Jones, Miles Corbet, Edmund Ludlow, &c. were sent Commissioners of Parliament for the Government of Ireland, where Jones began with reforming the abuses which existed concerning the brewing of beer and ale, nor would he suffer any one to hold a public employment that were found tippling in alehouses; he was censured for discountenancing Orthodox Ministers, and encouraging a Mr. *Patients*, formerly a *stocking-footer* in London, to preach every Sunday before the Council of Ireland in *Christ Church, Dublin*: and that, finally, to go into an ale-house, or a Protestant Church, during his domination, were crimes alike, and alike punished; insomuch that none but *Anabaptists* and *Welshmen* were entertained at that time in beneficial places.

Col. Jones acted in a military as well as civil capacity in Ireland. Heath, in his *Chronicle of the late Intestine War*, thus notices him. "In Ireland (1647) upon the advance of the rebels in so formidable a posture against Dublin, the Marquis of Ormond was forced to capitulate with the Parliament; and in June, according to agreement, delivered that city to Col. Jones, and other Parliament Commissioners, who brought over with them one thousand foot, and five hundred horse; and the Marquis came over into England, and attended the King at Hampton-Court, and in his removes with the Army, with an account of Ireland, till upon his going into the Isle of Wight he transported himself into France, and from thence (not long after) back again to Ireland, by the king's commission, with the above mentioned forces, some recruits out of England, and other broken troops of the Marquis's, amounting in all to three hundred. Col. Jones resolved to march against the Irish, who under

\* Col. Jones was Author of a book entitled, "JUDGES JUDGED out of their own mouths, or the QUESTION resolved by MAGNA CHARTA, &c., who have been England's Enemies, Kings' Seducers, and People's Destroyers, from Henry III. to Henry VIII. and before and since. Stated by SIR EDWARD COKE, Knt. late Lord Chief Justice of England. Expostulated, and put to the vote of the people, by J. JONES, GENT. Whereunto is added eight observable points of Law, executable by Justices of Peace. Lond. 1650."

For the notice and loan of this scarce work, which is printed in 24mo, comprising 117 pages, and dedication to the Right Honourable, Honourable, Right Worshipful, and Well-beloved, the Commons, and People of England Universally, the Editor is obliged to Mr. Barlace, of Frith Street, Soho.

my Lord Preston, within twelve miles of Dublin, met him at a disadvantage, and totally routed him, killing many, and taking some few prisoners, the rest escaping with difficulty to Dublin.

The Parliament had undertaken the war, and were therefore troubled at this unsuccessful beginning ; but they presently re-inforced Jones, who, taking courage, met with the same enemy again, and, near Trim, utterly defeated him, crying over and above quits with him for his last defeat. After his two wings had discomfited the two wings of the Irish by plain valour, their main battle of 3,000 foot betook themselves to a bog, where the English followed, and made great slaughter ; those that escaped thence, the horse killed. This slaughter (one of the greatest during all the war,) was reckoned just to 5,470 ; the commander of them, with Preston, hardly escaped, and joined with *O'Neal*, who lately had given a terrible defeat to the Scots in Ulster. Upon this victory, twenty several places yielded themselves to Jones, who omitted not to prosecute his success, till the winter summoned him to his quarters at Dublin.

After settling the affairs of Ireland to his full desire, Colonel Jones returned to England, and was in great favour with the Protector, who constituted him one of his Lords ; but upon his death, in the protectorate of his successor Richard, Jones was again made one of the Commissioners for the government of Ireland, and went over in July 1659, with Lieutenant-General Ludlow, who was commander-in-chief of the forces : but Ludlow soon after returning to England, and being well convinced of Jones's ability and principles, (which like his own were truly republican) left him his deputy there ; armed with this double power of commissioner, and head of the military department, in the execution of what he deemed requisite, Colonel Jones gave umbrage to Mr. Steele, then Chancellor of Ireland, a man of haughty spirit, who thought his province invaded, and in disgust left Ireland, and the government thereof, to his more successful rival in power.

In the interim the Rump Parliament was turned out by Lambert, and a committee of safety appointed. On the 6th of December following, about five o'clock in the evening, Colonel Sir Theophilus Jones, Colonel Bridges, and two or three more discountenanced officers, in pursuance of a design very privately contrived, and carried on, seized on Colonel Jones, and the rest of the then Council of Ireland, took the castle of Dublin, and declared for a Parliament ; and General Monk, who was then in Scotland, and had declared

for the like; Jones was kept a close prisoner in the Castle of Dublin, but the Rump Parliament coming into power again, sent for him and the rest over; but by the time he arrived in London, the secluded members had regained their seats in parliament, and out-voted all republican principles. Preparation being made for the King's coming home, Jones carefully hid himself; but notwithstanding his concealment, he was discovered one evening about twilight in *Finsbury Fields*, apprehended, and carried prisoner to the Tower of London, where he remained till he was brought to his trial.

On the 12th of October, 1660, Mr. Jones was put to the bar, his bedfellow, Mr. Scot, being immediately before tried and found guilty. He said he considered it but vain in him to plead any thing in justification of what he stood charged with; for that the arguments of the Court and Council were the same, and that they had contrived to overwhelm any attempt of the prisoners to make a defence, and in consequence pleaded only to the general issue, and was of course found guilty.

On the following Wednesday, Mr. Jones, with Thomas Scot, Gregory Clement, Adrian Scroop, and Francis Hacker, were drawn on hurdles to Charing Cross, where he spoke to the following effect:—"That it was the power that made the law; for that some years before they had the power in their hands, and whatsoever they did at that time, was accounted law, and executed accordingly; that now the king had executed the law upon them, and that the king did nothing but what he would have done himself, were he in the king's case; for the king did but like a loving and dutiful son to a dear and loving father." After a short prayer he committed his soul into the hands of God, seemingly very penitent, and was executed in like manner with the rest.\*

\* The state of Colonel Jones's mind, under his troubles, may be considered from the following copy of a letter sent from him while a prisoner in the Tower of London, to a relation:—

"I am very much grieved to find (by the note I received from you) such dark and sad apprehensions upon your spirit concerning me. We are all in the hands of the Lord, and what he hath appointed for us, will be our portion, and no man can frustrate his holy purpose concerning us, which I question not will be found to be in love, whatever appearance it may have to men. My advice is to you and all that love me, that (in case I be removed from you) you do not, neither in reality nor outward garb, mourn for me; but rather rejoice that my portion is in heaven, and that my dissolution or removal out of this earthly tabernacle, is but in order to my cloathing with immortality, and possessing my eternal mansion; and to my being for ever with Christ, to behold his glory; and therefore that you do not behave yourself as those that have no hopes but of this life.

H

" Secondly,

Colonel Jones appears throughout the whole course of his public transactions to have been guided entirely by principle; and if acting wrong, so to have done only through that tide of fanaticism, puritanical and revolutionary opposition to all establishments, which at the time he lived plunged the country into a series of difficulties and blood, in which scarce a family in the nation in a degree did not participate. His conduct during confinement in Newgate (where he was kept in chains) was truly exemplary. Observing one of Colonel Scroop's children weeping, he took her by the hand, saying to her, "You are weeping for your father; but suppose your father were tomorrow to be king of France, and you were to tarry a little behind, would you weep so? Why he is going to reign with the King of Kings, in everlasting glory!"

Speaking to a friend that was to have accompanied him into Ireland, "Ah! dear heart," says he, "thee and I were in that storm together, going to Ireland; and if we had gone this journey then, we had been in Heaven to have welcomed honest *Harrison* and *Carew*; but we will be content to go after them, we will go after." Of the sledge in which he was to be carried to execution, "It is," said he, "like Elijah's fiery chariot, only it goes through Fleet Street."

The time of his departure being come, this gentleman, with his companion Colonel Scroop, whose grave and graceful countenances, accompanied with courage and cheerfulness, caused great admiration and compassion in the spectators as they passed along the streets to Charing Cross, the place of their execution; and after the executioner had done his part upon three others that day, he was so drunk with blood, that, like one surfeited, he grew sick at stomach; and not being able himself, he set his boy to finish the tragedy upon Colonel Jones, who, ascending the ladder with the like cheerfulness his brethren had done before him, after a short speech, in which he exculpated himself from any malice against the late king, submitted himself to his fate with perfect calmness and indifference.

"Secondly, That you take off your mind from me, and fix it unmoveably upon your eternal relation, the Lord Jesus Christ; in whose glorious and blessed presence, we shall meet ere long, to our eternal rejoicing. It is the goodness of the Lord to us, to remove all creature-comforts from us, that our souls might have no resting place to delight in, or to promise them safety, until we return to the ark of his testimony, the bosom of his love, manifested and exhibited for us in our blessed Lord Jesus Christ. I write in haste, therefore excuse my abruptness.

"Thine in sincere love,

"Tower, Sept. 19, 1660.

"JOHN JONES."







MILES CORBET.  
(Executed at Tyburn. 1662)

*Miles Corbet*

## Miles Corbet.

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**MR. CORBET** was a gentleman of an ancient and honourable family in Norfolk, who after going through his academical studies, settled himself to the profession of the law, and was for many years a member and resident in Lincoln's-Inn. It cannot be objected to him as to many others of his republican brothers, that he was one of the mushroom breed, engendered only and fostered through the troubles of the times they lived in, Mr. Corbet having been returned a member to serve in every successive parliament for thirty-seven years prior to the restoration; he was burgess of, and recorder for, Great Yarmouth, in the long parliament; early became a committee-man for the County of Norfolk; and, from his well known legal abilities, was, by the parliament in 1644, made clerk of the court of wards; and in March, 1647-8, he, with Mr. Robert Goodwin, were made registrars of the Court of Chancery, in the room of Colonel Long, one of the eleven impeached members; this place alone, to Mr. Corbet, was worth seven hundred pounds a year.

Corbet had the principal management of the office of sequestration against the loyalists, in order to enable the parliament to carry on the war against the king; speaking of which, Lord Hollis says, "The committee of examinations, where Mr. Miles Corbet kept his justice seat, which was worth something to his clerk, if not to him, what a continual horse-fair it was! even like dooms-day itself, to judge persons of all sorts and sexes." The strictness with which he enforced the penalties in this station, rendered him so extremely odious and unpopular in this kingdom, that he was glad to embrace an opportunity that offered to change the scene.

The parliament therefore in August, 1652, put him in the commission for managing the affairs of Ireland, with the Lord-General Cromwell, Lieutenant Generals Fleetwood and Ludlow, Colonel Jones, and Mr. Weaver. In this situation he remained during all the changes of government until January

1659-60, when he was suspended by Sir Charles Coote, and then impeached of high treason, after having received no less than ten several commissions for this office. He soon after returned into England, but was so alarmed by the proceedings against Sir Henry Vane and Major Salway, and from having so great a charge preferred against him, that he would not appear publicly, much less go to the house, until inspired with some confidence by Ludlow, he went thither to give an account of his conduct ; in which he acted in such a manner that reflected credit to his public character ; for Ludlow, who was part of the time upon the spot, and some while employed with him, avers that " he manifested such integrity, that though he was continued for many years in that station, yet he impaired his own estate for the public service, whilst he was the greatest husband of the commonwealth's treasure."

At the restoration, Mr. Corbet made his escape to the Continent, and after travelling through many parts of Germany, settled with Barkstead and Okey, at Hanau in the circle of the Lower Rhine ; and having taken care to secure a sufficient property for their future maintenance and support, were admitted free burgesses of that place.

After remaining many months unmolested or disturbed here, Mr. Corbet imprudently quitted this secure asylum, on a short visit to some friends in Holland ; notice of which coming to the knowledge of Sir George Downing, the English resident, he was secured in company with his friends Barkstead and Okey, whom he had called on merely to pay a friendly visit.

Sir George had procured an order from the States General to secure them, which having effected through the most mean and despicable treachery, he sent them over in chains to England by the *Black-a-moor* frigate, which had been stationed there for that purpose on Downing's receiving notice from a friend of Colonel Okey's of his intended visit, which the renegado Downing had given his parole of honor he would in no way disturb or molest.

This man had been raised by Colonel Okey from a very low station in life to the establishment which he then held, having remained in that situation under Cromwell and the Commonwealth, but made his peace with the new king and government by betraying all those who had been his best friends and protectors.

Being brought to the bar of the King's Bench, on the 16th of April, 1662, after a slight investigation as to identity of person, Mr. Corbet was found guilty, and received sentence of death. The day after, some of his near

relations and friends, that came to visit him, having heard some malicious reports to his prejudice; as that he had deuied his name, and not owned himself to be the person that was mentioned in the Act, when he was at Westminster, at the King's Bench bar; earnestly desired him to let them know the truth of things from his own mouth. To which he readily answered, that he was much misunderstood, and wrongfully presented, if any said so of him; and moreover said, that he blessed God he was neither ashamed of his name, nor of his cause, nor his master, and hoped never should; and then related as follows:—"That his brethren, Colonel Barkstead, Colonel Okey, and himself, being brought before their judges, were there called all by their names, to which they made answer, and, as they were bid, held up their hands. Then the question being put, what they had to say for themselves concerning the fact which they stood charged with in the Act of Parliament, at that time read before them; Mr. Corbet answered, he did not take himself to be the person named in the same Act, for that he did never *maliciously imagine, contrive, or endeavour to murder the late king*, as was there charged upon him in the said Act, and therefore desired them to prove it. 'What!' said some on the bench, 'will you deny your names now? Did you not answer to, and hold up your hands at those names?' To which Colonel Okey made answer (not understanding Mr. Corbet's drift, which was to have a proof made that they were guilty in *manner* and *form* as the Act expressed it) he would never deny his name for the matter; 'No more will I,' said Mr. Corbet, 'neither do I; but may there not be more men of my name, that perhaps may have been guilty of *malice against the king*? though for my own part I never was.' Then Colonel Okey began to perceive his mistake, and Colonel Barkstead also; who being thus rectified, Mr. Corbet proceeded, and told the judge, it was true they were called by their right names, and did accordingly own them; yet it doth not *judicially* appear to this Court, that we are the persons meant in the Act, putting an emphasis on the word *judicially*; and farther urged, there ought first to be an indictment, &c. (as was the case of Sir Walter Raleigh) all which were pre-requisite to an issue in law, for here was a *conclusion* without *premises*; to which the *Attorney General* replied, Mr. Corbet was right as to ordinary proceedings, but here it was extraordinary, viz. by Act of Parliament in a Bill of attainder, and cited the case of one Stafford, who was thus proceeded against, sentenced,

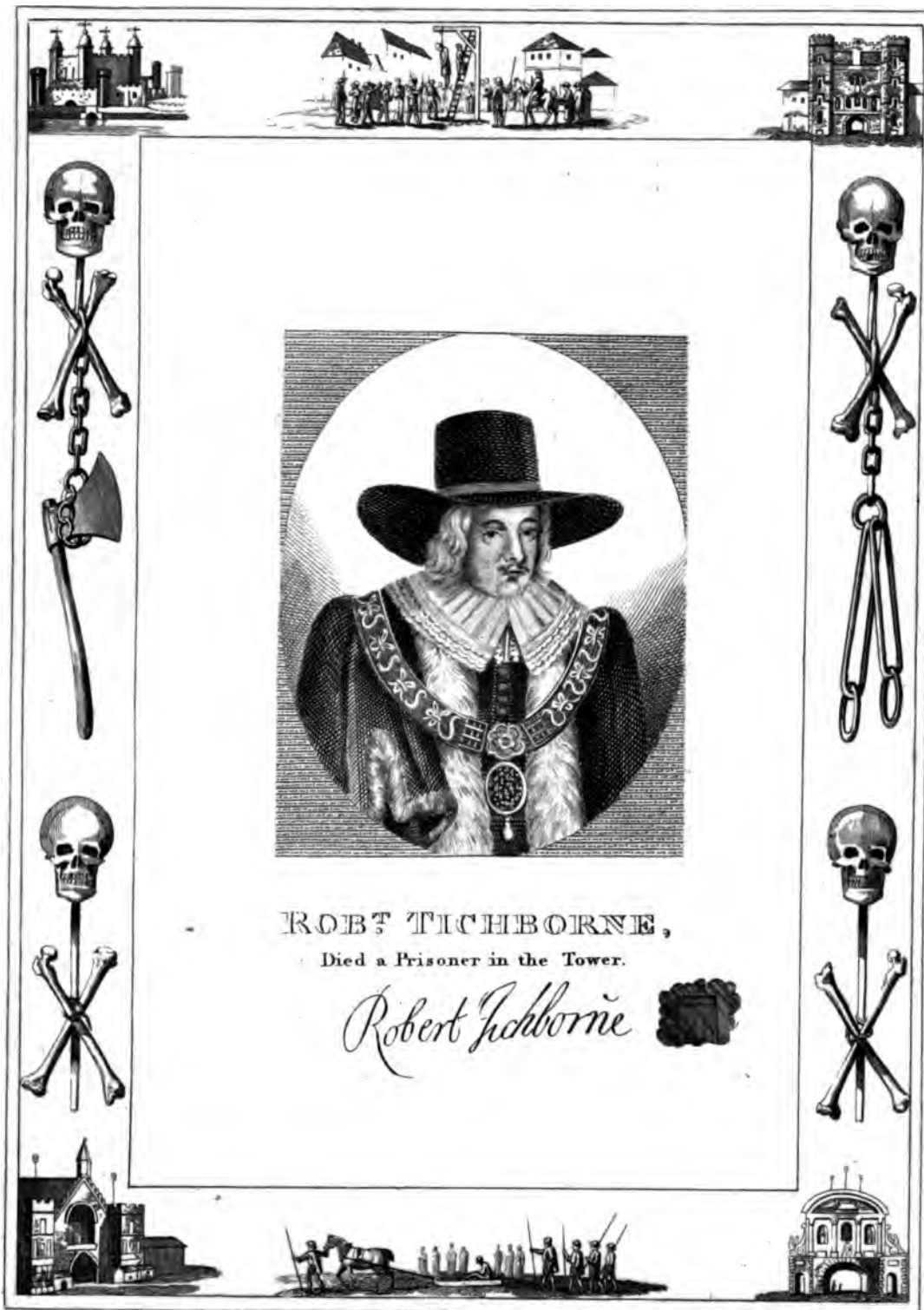
and executed, in Henry the Seventh's time. The Court concurring in the correctness of the present proceeding, sentence was accordingly pronounced."

The day previous to Mr. Corbet's death, he assured his friends, "that he was so thoroughly convinced of the justice and necessity of that action for which he was to die, that if the things had been yet entire, and to do, he could not refuse to act as he had done without affronting his reason, and opposing himself to the dictates of his conscience," adding, "that the immoralities, lewdness, and corruptions of all sorts which had been introduced and encouraged since the late revolution, were no inconsiderable justification of those proceedings." Miles Corbet was executed at Tyburn, being drawn thence upon a sledge from the Tower; his quarters were placed over the City gates, and his head upon London Bridge, April 19, 1662.

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ROBT TICHBORNE,  
Died a Prisoner in the Tower.

*Robert Tichborne*



## Robert Tichborne.

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**ROBERT TICHBORNE** was descended from one of the most ancient families in England, who were seated at Tichborne, about three miles south from Alneford in Hampshire, prior to the Conquest. Sir Roger de Ticheburne\* possessed this Lordship in the reign of Henry the Second, a bold and daring knight; and several of his descendants have been eminent for similar qualities. Sir Benjamin Tichborne, who lived in the reigns of Elizabeth, and James the First, and was sheriff of the county, on receiving intelligence of the queen's death, hastened from his family seat, and issued the proclamation of the latter, without waiting for orders from the Privy Council in London, who had passed several hours in deliberating on this important subject; for which spirited conduct James the First bestowed on him and his descendants in perpetuity, the fee simple of Winchester castle, together with an annual pension of 100*l.* during his own life and that of his eldest son.

On the breaking out of the Civil Wars, the castle was seized by the Parliament; and after it had been dismantled by Cromwell, the estate and remains were granted to Sir William Waller, whose sister had married the real owner, Sir Richard Tichborne. Waller or his son sold the chapel, which had been left standing, to certain feoffees, for the purpose of converting it into a county hall, to which destination it has ever since been applied.

Being of a younger branch of the family, Mr. Robert Tichborne determined to try his fortune in trade, and for a time carried on the business of a linen-draper in the city: he entirely devoted himself to the Parliament party, and launched out in all the popular politics of the times. He passed through various ranks, until he became a colonel in the Parliament army, and was appointed Lieutenant, under General Fairfax, of the Tower; and commanded the city of London at his pleasure: his consequence and power was so great

\* This name is contracted from *De Ichin-Bourne*, alluding to the situation of the manor on the chief spring of the Ichin River.

that he was appointed one of the king's judges; and after presenting a petition from the common council of London for the trial, he omitted no opportunity to shew how far he felt himself interested on the subject, and was absent only on the 12th and 13th days of January; and signed the warrant for executing the sentence.

Hitherto Tichborne had attained no civic honors; but in 1650, we find him serving the office of sheriff, with Richard Chiverton, in the second mayoralty of Sir Thomas Andrews, leather-seller; and in 1656, he became mayor under the appellation of Sir Robert Tichborne Skinner. It was during the time that Tichborne was Lord Mayor, that the market-house in Saint Paul's Church Yard was built. He was in such high favor and estimation with the Protector, that he was appointed one of his committee of state in 1655, knighted, and made one of his lords; and proving true to that interest, wished for the restoration of Richard; yet was named one of the council of state, and of safety, for 1659; but the restoration approaching, he fell from his height, to become a prisoner in the Tower; at which time he was extremely unpopular, as one who had sat in the high court of justice which condemned Dr. Hewit.

He was arraigned at the Sessions House in the Old Bailey, Oct. 10, 1660; when he said to the court,—“ My Lord, I have been a very close prisoner, without any advice: I am altogether unable in law to speak.

*Court.* You know the course hath been delivered to you by others; I will not trouble you with it. It is neither long nor short; the law requires your answer—Guilty, or not guilty?

*Prisoner.* Spare me but one word. If upon the trial there shall appear to be matter of law, shall I have the liberty of counsel for it? If I shall put in my own case to plead matter of law against those noble persons who plead on the other part, I shall but prejudice myself; and, therefore, I crave council.

*Court.* You must plead guilty, or not guilty.

*Prisoner.* I have no reason nor design to displease you. I am sure I am no ways able to plead with equalness, in point of law, with these noble gentlemen. To the matter of fact, this is my plea: in manner and form that I stand indicted, I am not guilty.”

The usual forms being gone through with, he was brought up for trial, October the 16th. When addressing the court, he said, “ My Lord, when I

first pleaded to the indictment, it was, in manner and form, not guilty, as I stood indicted. My Lord, it was not then in my heart either to deny or justify any tittle of the matter of fact. My Lord, the matter that I was led into by ignorance, my conscience leads me to acknowledge; but, my Lord, if I should have said guilty, in manner and form as I stood indicted, I was fearful I should have charged my own conscience, as then knowingly or maliciously to act it. My Lord, it was my unhappiness to be called to so sad a work, when I had so few years over my head; a person neither bred up in the laws, nor in parliament, where laws are made. I can say with a clear conscience, I had no more enmity in my heart to his majesty, than I had to my wife that lay in my bosom. My Lord, I shall say nothing: after I was summoned, I think truly I was at most of the meetings; and I do not say this that I did not intend to say it before: but preserving that salvo to my own conscience, that I did not maliciously and knowingly do it, I think I am bound in conscience to own it. As I do not deny but I was there, so truly I do believe I did sign the instrument; and had I known that then which I do now, (I do not mean, my Lord, my afflictions and sufferings; it is not my sufferings make me acknowledge), I would have chosen a red hot oven to have gone into as soon as that meeting. I bless God I do this neither out of fear, nor hopes of favour; though the penalty that may attend this acknowledgment may be grievous, my Lord, I do acknowledge the matter of fact, and do solemnly protest I was led into it for want of years. I do not justify either the act or the person; I was so unhappy then as to be ignorant, and I hope shall not now (since I have more light) justify that which I was ignorant of; I am sure my heart was without malice: if I had been only asked in matter of fact at first, I should have said the same; I have seen a little. The great God before whom we all stand, hath shewn his tender mercy to persons upon repentance: Paul tells us, though a blasphemer and a persecutor of Christ, it being done ignorantly, upon repentance he found mercy. My Lord, mercy I have found, and I do not doubt mercy I shall find. My Lord, I came in upon proclamation; and now I am here, I have, in truth, given your Lordship a clear and full account, whatever the law shall pronounce, because I was ignorant. Yet, I hope, there will be room found for that mercy and grace that, I think, was intended by the proclamation, and, I hope, by the parliament of England. I shall say no more; but in pleading of that, hum-

bly beg that your Lordships will be instrumental to the king and parliament on that behalf."

"*Council.* We shall give no evidence against the prisoner; he says he did it ignorantly, and I hope and do believe he is penitent; and as far as the parliament thinks fit to shew mercy, I shall be very glad."

The jury brought in their verdict—Guilty.

The lord chief baron, in his charge to the jury, said, "That as for alderman Tichborne, he hath spoken very fully, and truly very conscientiously—upon the whole matter acknowledges his ignorance, his sorrow, his conviction in point of conscience; and I beseech God Almighty to incline his heart more and more to repentance. They that crucified Christ, (to use his own words) through ignorance, found mercy."

There appears infinitely more art, than real contrition in Tichborne's address to the court; and little doubt can be entertained but he had a promise his life would be spared, if he conducted himself in the way he did; indeed his speech clearly evinces the fact; he says, "Mercy I have found, and I do not doubt, mercy I shall find:" the forbearance of the council in calling witnesses, the chief baron's charge to the jury, leads one to imagine they wished them to find as they did do, a verdict of guilty; but without the malicious intent. He escaped punishment, but at a price that Scot, Cook, Axtel, Scroop, Harrison, Carew, or Hacker, would have scorned to have paid—the expense of their CONSCIENCES. Tichborne, however, did not escape quite free, he lingered out the remnant of his life in captivity, and died a prisoner in the Tower.\*

\* Tichborne entered into all the fanaticism of the times, and in imitation of many of his canting brethren, commenced author. We have from his pen a book entitled, "A Cluster of CANAAN'S GRAPES, being several Experimental Truths received through private communication with God by his Spirit, grounded on Scripture, and presented to open view for publique Edification: by COL. ROBERT TICHBOURN.—London, 1649." The book was licenced, Jan. 25, 1648, with the following notice: "I have delightfully looked upon these *Clusters of Canaan's Grapes*, and have helped them to the *Presse*, that they may be *Wine* for common drinking: I onely minde the reader, that these Grapes yield the *New Wine* of the *Gospel*; let him take heed he puts it not into the *Old Bottles* of envy or of malice, of prejudice or of contempt; if he do, *his Bottles will break*; and though the wine, (because it is saving wine) cannot but be safe, yet himself will be a loser, yea, in danger to be lost; whereas, his profit and salvation are (I believe, on this side the glory of God) the highest end of the Author, in this publication, as they are of the licenser,

"JOSEPH CARYL."







## Henry Ireton.

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**HENRY** Ireton, President of Munster, and Lord Deputy of Ireland, was eldest son and heir of German Ireton, of Attenton, in Nottinghamshire, Esq., and was born in the year 1610, entered a gentleman-commoner of Trinity College, Oxford, in 1626, where he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, on the 10th June, 1629. He afterwards removed to the Middle Temple, where he applied himself to the study of the common law; till, upon the breaking out of the Civil Wars, he engaged on the side of the parliament against the king; and marrying about the same time Bridget, one of the daughters of Oliver Cromwell, then colonel of a regiment, was made by his means, first a captain, afterwards colonel of a regiment of horse, and, at length, commissary-general, upon the new modelling of the army, in the beginning of the year 1645. In the battle of Naseby, on the 14th of June the same year, he distinguished himself by his uncommon bravery, though he was dangerously wounded, and taken prisoner, after he had executed his part, till, in the confusion of the fight, he got loose again, and saw the victory achieved by his own party. In 1647, he made the strongest pretences, in conjunction with his father-in-law, for the service of the king, then in the hands of the army; and expressed an entire affection to his majesty, and an hearty sense of his sufferings, declaring, that rather than the king should continue thus enslaved by the presbyterian party, if but five men would join with him, he would venture his life in order to his redemption; adding, that they would purge, and purge again, till they had brought the House of Commons to such a temper as should do his majesty's business; and, rather than fall short of these promises, he would join with French, Spaniard, Cavalier, or any other who would concur with him to force them to it. It is said likewise, that he and Cromwell had made a secret treaty with the king, by which they were to be advanced to the highest posts of honour and profit; but that upon

intercepting some letters of his majesty to the queen, which discovered that his design was only to amuse them for the present, without any intention of performing his agreement, they resolved upon his destruction. In order to which Col. Ireton had the chief hand in drawing up the declarations and remonstrances of the army, particularly the "Agreement of the People," presented to the General and Council of the Army, on the 11th of December, 1648, the ordinance of the king's trial, and the precept for proclaiming the High Court of Justice; in which he sat as one of the judges, as he was afterwards one of the committee for fixing the time and place of his majesty's execution. In June, 1649, he was appointed by the parliament to go into Ireland, next in command to Cromwell, who was Lord-Lieutenant of that kingdom; whither, in August following, he embarked. In January, 1649-50, he was constituted President of Munster; and, in June, 1650, upon the departure of Cromwell, was made Deputy of Ireland; in which post, without fighting a battle, though he lived but a few months after, he almost entirely completed what his father-in-law had left unfinished of the conquest of that kingdom. These services added to his former, were so highly valued by the parliament, that they ordered an act to be brought in for settling two thousand pounds a year upon him. But this resolution of theirs was so unacceptable to him, that, upon hearing of it, he declared, that they had many debts, which he desired they would pay, before they made any such presents; that he had no need of their land, and therefore would not have it; and that he should be more contented to see them doing the service of the nation, than so free in disposing of the public money. General Ludlow thought him very sincere in this declaration; since he had always been a careful economist in the management of the revenues belonging to the state, so he was very liberal in devoting his own fortune and person to the public service.

Ireton died at the siege of Limerick, on the 26th of November, 1651, and was interred with great solemnity in Westminster Abbey, where a magnificent monument was erected to him; but it was demolished after the Restoration, his body being dug up, and hung at Tyburn, and then buried under the gallows there.

General Ludlow, who was united to him by the double ties of friendship and party, assures us, that his death was universally lamented by all good men, more especially because the public was thereby deprived of a most faithful, able, and useful servant; and he commends his affection to his

country, his abilities of mind, his impartial justice, his diligence in public service, and his other virtues. Whitelocke likewise tells us, that he was a man of great activity and industry; of good abilities both in council and in the field, though extremely tenacious of his own schemes and designs; and, upon all occasions, shewed a remarkable zeal for the reformation of the proceedings in law, and the establishment of a Commonwealth. But Lord Clarendon observes, that he was of an unmerciful and bloody temper; of a melancholic, reserved, dark nature, communicating his thoughts to very few; so that, for the most part, he resolved alone, but was never diverted from any resolution he had taken; and was thought often by his obstinacy to prevail over Cromwell himself, and to extort his concurrence contrary to his own inclinations. This proceeded only from his dissembling less; for he was never reserved in the owning and communicating his worst and most barbarous purposes, which the other always concealed and disavowed. Hitherto their concurrence had been very natural, since they had the same ends and designs; but it was generally conceived by those, who had the opportunity to know them both very well, that Ireton was a man so radically averse from monarchy, and so fixed to a republican government, that, had he lived, he would either by his conduct and credit have prevented the designs of Cromwell, or publicly opposed and declared against them, and carried the greatest part of the army with him; and that Cromwell, who best knew his nature and his temper, had therefore carried him into Ireland, and left him there, that he might be without his counsels or importunities, when he should find it necessary to put off his mask, and to act the part which he foresaw it would be requisite to do. Others thought his parts lay more towards civil affairs, and were fitter for the modelling that government, which his heart was set upon, (being a scholar, conversant in the law, and in all those authors, who had expressed the greatest animosity and malice against regal government,) than for the conduct of an army to support it; his personal courage being never reckoned among his other abilities. Sir Philip Warwick remarks, that he was a man of blood, he expired with that word in his mouth, for in his raving he cried out, "I will have more blood, blood, blood! He once refused a challenge from Mr. Denzil Holles, afterwards Lord Holles, on account of some rude expressions which had fallen from him in a debate in the House of Commons, reflecting upon that gentleman; who, insisting that he should presently go over the water, and fight him, Ireton answered, that "his conscience would not suffer

him to fight a duel;" upon which Mr. Holles pulled him by the nose, telling him, that if his conscience would keep him from giving men satisfaction, it should keep him from provoking them.

General Ireton was unremitting in his military as well as civil duties: his death was occasioned through the fatigue he underwent by attending the siege of Limerick; this, with never changing his cloaths, made him so liable to be infected with the plague, which then raged, that it co-operated to destroy him. His remains were conveyed to England, and in great pomp brought to London, where they lay for a time in state at Somerset-house, which was all hung with black, and an escutcheon over the great gate, with this motto, *Dulce est pro patria mori*. Thus Englished by a country-man, "It is good for his country that he is dead."

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MAJOR GENT HARRISON,  
Executed at Charing Cross, 1660.

*Harrison*



## Thomas Harrison.

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**I**N most of the accounts given of this person, he is said to have been the son of a mean butcher, or grazier, living at Newcastle-under-Line, in the County of Stafford, where Mr. Harrison was born: whatever situation in life his father might have been placed in, he appears by no means to have neglected the care of his son, who after receiving a grammatical education, was sent up to London to a gentleman of the name of Hoselker, an attorney in good estimation in Clifford's Inn, who had an employment under the king, and, Lord Clarendon says, discharged his duty faithfully.

Politics engaged every mind at this momentous period; the severe censure and punishment of Prynne, Burton, Bastwick, Leighton, and Lilburne, by the Court of Star-Chamber, infuriated the people in general; among whom young Harrison greatly distinguished himself by his energy, and as soon as he had served his clerkship, he joined the company of students in the law, that, under the command of Sir Philip Stapylton, became a guard to the Earl of Essex, the parliament general.

Soon after, he served as a regular soldier in the army raised to oppose the king, as a cornet of horse; and by his diligence and sobriety, rose to have a commission, but attracted no particular notice until the army was new modelled. At the surrender of the old palace of Woodstock, in the year 1646, he was appointed one of the commissioners to receive it: at that time he was a major.

He gained so far the good opinion of Colonel Sydney, Lord Lisle's son, that he patronized him as a good soldier; and at his request in January, 1646-7, the Commons voted that he should accompany that gentleman to Ireland, where his conduct was so meritorious, that when Lord Lisle and Sir John Temple reported the state of that kingdom, the house included him and Colonel Sydney in their thanks, when they gave it that nobleman and his colleague.

He was raised to the rank of Colonel soon after his return, and became so conspicuous a character, that he was named one of the commissioners of the army appointed to treat with those deputed by the Parliament, relative to a good understanding between them.

His regiment was one of those which in November following shewed an inclination to mutiny, on account of that fanatic spirit which their commander was so distinguished for, but which at this time he did not care openly to avow; he had so great an interest in the army, that he procured the pardon of his troop, which they submissively asked; and in the following year they shewed their gratitude by performing gallant service at the battle of Preston, in Lancashire, where the Duke of Hamilton was defeated.

When the army and parliament were fixed on bringing the king to trial, Colonel Harrison received orders to bring him to the head-quarters of the army at Windsor. He went to Hurst Castle with a strong party of horse, and shewing his commission to Colonel Ewer, the governor, the king was consigned to his custody; some have asserted he received his royal charge covered, but Lord Clarendon says he received him with outward respect, and was uncovered. Harrison was extremely strict in his attention to every thing that passed, and was not to be approached by any address, answering questions in short and few words, and, when importuned, with rudeness.

A feeble attempt to escape was planned by the king, after dining at Bagshot with Lord Newburgh, and his lady, the widow of Lord Aubigny; but Harrison's vigilance and care frustrated the scheme. Previous to the king's reaching the place, the Colonel sent some horse and an officer to search the house, and every part of the park, that he might be certain he had nothing to apprehend from a surprisal: and the king after passing three or four hours at Bagshot, with every caution that could be devised, was obliged to pursue his journey; Harrison never suffering any one to be in the room where he was, unless in company with six or seven soldiers; nor would he permit any thing to be spoken, unless so loud that all might hear it.

The king was conveyed by Harrison that night to Windsor, and the next morning to St. James's; though he had been told what public disgrace was designed, and that he was to be brought to trial, yet he could not divest his mind of some secret and premature tragedy; and wholly occupied with melancholy ideas, he said to the Colonel, how odious and wicked such an assassination and murder would render a man, and that the person who

undertook it, would never afterwards be safe; to which he indignantly replied, " You need not entertain such imaginations, or apprehension, for the parliament has too much honour and justice to cherish so foul an intention; for whatever the parliament resolved to do, would be very public, and in a way of justice, to which the world will be witness; for they will never endure a thought of secret violence." Yet this declaration, significant as it was, the king could not be prevailed upon to believe true; he still supposed his enemies would not dare to perform so monstrous a deed in the open face of day.

The part he took at the trial of Charles, was of a piece with the rest of his conduct. Being appointed one of the King's Judges he sat every day, except the 13th, 15th, 17th, and 24th of January, and set his hand and seal to the instrument for putting him to death.

In the year 1650, Harrison became a Major-General, and was sent to Ireland, where he distinguished himself a second time; but came over with Cromwell, and assisted at the consultation with Fairfax about his tender scruples in commanding the army against the Scots, who were attempting to reinstate King Charles the Second upon their throne, and intended to conduct him into England; the parties who held this council were Fairfax, Cromwell, Lambert, and himself, in the army, and St. John and Whitlock as lawyers. He told the Lord-General that he was satisfied of his faith to the parliament cause, and that he was certain the Scotch nation meant to attack them; and concluded the whole by saying, " It is indeed, my Lord, the most righteous and the most glorious cause that ever any of this nation appeared in; and now when we hope that the Lord will give a glorious issue and conclusion to it, for your excellency then to give it over will sadden the hearts of many of God's people." But even this did not satisfy the " tender conscience" of Fairfax, who resigned the command, which fell immediately into the hands of Cromwell.

Harrison made a brilliant figure in October, 1651, in drawing out the trained bands, and other bodies of men, to the number of eight thousand, in Hyde Park, where the Speaker and the Members of Parliament met, and were saluted in a military manner by them, preparatory to his going into the North with Cromwell to attack the Scots with a body of horse and foot which the Parliament soon after voted to be put under his care. In June he was advanced as far as the extremity of Cumberland, and thence proceeded to Berwick. He sent the Parliament advice that the Scots were

advancing into England, and that he had required the commissioners of the militia in Lancashire, Cumberland, and other counties, to raise what forces they could to join him ; and that he had obtained three thousand horse, and hoped to prevent the enemy's march into England ; concluding his letter with desiring, " some provision of four or five hundred godly men for two or three months, if he can get them mounted."

As the Scotch army obtained an entrance into the kingdom, Harrison followed them, and with Lambert sent a body of troops to Worcester, fearing the king should make it " a quarter or garrison." And in the battle fought near that city, in which the royalists were entirely defeated, he behaved in a manner that gave the greatest satisfaction to the general, and the whole army.

In the dissolution of the Long Parliament, Harrison was completely duped and made a tool of by Cromwell ; who taking him to the House, of which he was a member, accompanied with a sufficient number of soldiers to effect what he intended, they took different sides ; but Harrison being called, went to Cromwell, who told him " he thought the parliament ripe for dissolution ;" to which he replied, " Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it before you engage in it." " You say well," replied Oliver, and then sat down for a quarter of an hour ; but the question for passing a bill relative to something that necessarily occasioned their meeting again, enraged him so much, that, speaking again to Harrison, he said, " This is the time I must do it ;" when, suddenly starting up, he loaded them with the vilest abuse, as not having a heart to do any thing for the public good ; and reproached them with espousing the corrupt interest of presbytery and the lawyers, who were the supporters of tyranny and oppression, &c.

Harrison, who sat quietly near Lenthall, the speaker, who kept the chair, told him, that, seeing things were reduced to this pass, it would not be convenient for him to remain there. The speaker answered, " I will not come down unless I am forced." " Sir," says Harrison, " I will lend you my hand ;" and, as Ludlow says, put his hand in Lenthall's to conduct him down ; but Whitlock and others, that he took him by the arm, and so brought him down, and soon turned out all the members that were there, though they were in number from eighty to a hundred. The Major-General however soon discovered the trick Cromwell had played him in making him only instrumental to his own ambition ; and the friendship that had so long subsisted between these men, who had so often fought and prayed together, was



instantly dissolved. Cromwell regarded him as a dangerous rival for power, and Harrison looked upon him as one who had betrayed the public trust, which made his heart swell high for vengeance, and from that time he resolved to act in direct opposition to all the other's schemes; and he not only set himself at the head of those who were for a war with Holland, but even changed his religious principles. Cromwell and himself had been the great apostles of the independents; Harrison now spurned the sect as not sufficiently spiritualized, and went over to the anabaptists, who were then a most furious and ungovernable set of people.

Oliver in the mean time had obtained the protectorate, and in December, 1655, sent for Harrison to the council, where he was asked to subscribe to the new government, which he declining, Oliver had his commission taken from him, upbraiding him at the same time with his former conduct in coveting his employment when he was sick in Scotland; and upon Harrison's giving some tart answers, the protector sent him a prisoner to Carisbrook Castle, in the Isle of Wight, which was a dreadful blow to him and his new friends the anabaptists, of whom he was considered as the head and leader.

In April, 1656, Mr. Harrison was sent for to London and discharged, but his restless disposition involved him in new difficulties, and in September, the same year, he was again sent as a prisoner to Pendennis Castle. Procuring his enlargement from this place, he quitted the anabaptists and joined the fifth-monarchy men, who projected a scheme to destroy the protector, seize Monk in Scotland, and erect the kingdom of Christ. Lord Grey, of Groby, was at the head of these fanatics, and Harrison being known to have meetings and cabal with them, and other extravagant conduct, was again sent to prison.

At the restoration, Major-General Harrison was seized by Colonel Bowyer, at the head of a party of the Staffordshire militia. He might have avoided this, as he knew what was designed against him; but he accounted it, he said, an action of desertion of the cause in which he engaged to leave his house, and therefore remained quietly waiting the event. He was conveyed to the Tower, and thence to Newgate, for his trial, having been absolutely excepted from pardon by a clause in the bill of indemnity, and was indicted as Thomas Harrison, late of Westminster, in the County of Middlesex, gentleman, October 10, 1660. Harrison defended himself exactly as a man of his behaviour might have been expected; as one who certainly had never feared

death, and now saw that it must come upon him ; and therefore regarded the opinion of the Court the less. He told them, that the king's death " was not a thing done in a corner ; " he believed the sound of it had been in most nations ; that he had prayed night and day for conviction ; and that he had received rather assurances of the justness of what he had done ; that he believed ere long it would be made known from Heaven ; there was more from God than men were aware of ; that he would not hurt the poorest man or woman that went upon the earth ; and launched out of the goodness of the commissions under which he had acted ; for instead of usurping an authority, he said, " it was rather done in the fear of the Lord." The Court here interfered, and Lord Finch told him, " he must not be suffered to run into these damnable excursions to make God the author of the damnable treasons committed."

Nothing intimidated, he argued then, that he had not done wrong, for these two reasons : that it was authorized by the parliament, the House of Commons, to which that Court was inferior, and that therefore he was not to be questioned for it ; hinting at the legality of the act by the fate of Richard the Second ; and desired council, as " it concerned all his countrymen."—The council telling him, " his countrymen would cry out and shame him," he replied, " May be so, my Lords ; some will, but I am sure others will not." Every plea he could offer being over-ruled by the Court, the Jury were charged, who brought in their verdict Guilty.

Major-General Harrison was executed at Charing Cross, October 13th, 1660, and proved his words at that time, " that death was no more to him than a rush." Some seeing his hands and legs tremble very much, noticed it ; when he assured them it was an infirmity which he had been subject to for twelve years, owing to the vast quantity of blood he had lost by wounds in the battles he had fought ; and that it had ever since thus affected his nerves.

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COL. JOHN HEWSON,  
Died in Exile, 1662

*Hewson*

## John Hewson.

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**LITTLE** doubt can be entertained but that Hewson was of very low origin, and that in the early part of his life, he had been brought up in the shoe-making business; there are many caricature resemblances of this man, in most of which he is represented with a leathern apron, with gross applications to his craft, as a cobbler:—but, whatever his origin or profession might have been, Hewson appears to have lost no opportunity in forwarding his own interest and fortune; and on the commencement of hostilities between the king and parliament, he went forth in the army of the latter, probably as a common soldier, but through his courage and address had attained to the rank of colonel previous to Charles the First's being brought to trial.

Hewson had so far ingratiated himself with Cromwell, and the other leaders in power, that he was deemed a fit instrument to form one of those daring individuals who had the temerity to bring the unfortunate and degraded monarch before a tribunal self-created, that prejudged the issue, through their own presumptive power most arbitrarily assumed; by the exclusion of those members whom they imagined inimical to their violent proceedings, among which was the celebrated William Prynne,\* who, though smarting severely from the punishment inflicted on him by the sentence of the Star-chamber, possessed sufficient prudence and legal knowledge to keep out of the hazardous paths then pursued by those in power.

Hewson was an excellent soldier, and was extremely popular in the army.

\* On the restoration of Charles the Second, Prynne did not pass unnoticed by the king; he was made keeper of the records in the Tower, and compiled his celebrated work in three volumes, in the frontispiece of the first he is represented presenting the work to his sovereign; the book is now become extremely rare in consequence of most of the copies being burnt in the fire of London, Anno 1666. A perfect copy has been known to sell for seventy guineas, and the frontispiece alone is worth from three to five pounds.

After the defeat of the levellers at Burford, in May, 1648, Fairfax, with the army under his command, proceeded to Oxford, where he was highly treated, and with Oliver Cromwell, made a Doctor of the civil law, at the same time that Lambert and Hewson became Masters of Arts.

At the latter end of the year 1659, great tumults were created in London, and applications were made to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen to declare against both the army and the rump parliament, the last of whom was most abhorred; and cries were made with a general voice for no rump, and a petition for a free parliament, as the only way to preserve the city and kingdom. These proceedings the committee of safety had forbidden under very severe penalties, but no regard was paid to their prohibition, the petitions were still carried on, and high things resolved on; the shops were shut up and the public mind greatly troubled and disturbed, people running in clusters about the streets, expecting nothing but destruction would ensue. The London apprentices collected together in great multitudes, declaring they would have a free parliament; and things were carried to that height, that to stop the farther progress, Col. Hewson, who had been left with the troops under his command to guard the committee of safety, marched into the city, suppressing the commotion by killing several of the apprentices most forward in promoting the riot. The loss of this blood inflamed the city the more against the army, which, they said, "was only kept on foot to murder the citizens;" and they caused a bill of indictment to be preferred against Hewson for those murders, (as they deemed them), committed under his orders. The Common Council appeared every day more refractory, and refused to concur in any thing that was proposed by the Committee of Safety, which began to be universally abhorred, as like to the original of such a tyranny as Cromwell had enacted, since it wholly depended upon the power and spirit of the army: though, on the other hand, the committee protested and declared to them, "that there should be a parliament called to meet together in the February following, under such qualifications and restrictions as might be sure to exclude such persons who would destroy them." But this gave no satisfaction, every man remembering the parliament that had been packed by Oliver.

Lord Clarendon gives Hewson the character of a bold fellow, who had been an ill shoemaker, and afterwards clerk to a brewer of small beer; other writers observe, that Hewson having nothing to lose could not be degraded to a lower sphere of life than that from which he had emerged, and stopped







not at any desperate course to accomplish the purpose of his ambition; being named one of the commissioners, he sat every day, except January 13th, on the trial of the king, and signed the death-warrant.

Hewson was fortunate enough to effect his escape from England at the restoration, but survived that event but a little time, dying at Amsterdam in 1662. Henry Cromwell, in a letter to secretary Thurloe, complains of the vexation he had met with from Hewson and his sons. After saying that he had endeavoured to carry himself with moderation to all, he was not a little surprised at Colonel Hewson's having sent a complaint against him to his Highness the Protector, which every sober person knew to be untrue, and that he owned that he took it upon the information of others. He says, "I must needs confess I am not a little amazed hereat, and have nothing to quiett my spiritt, but through grace, the integritie of my own harte in my actions. As a man I could sitt downe under my discouragements, (which are not a few), but my confidence is in the Lord, who will in due time bringe forth the hidden things of darkness to light, and will make manifest the most secret designes of men. If Colonel Hewson must be believed, (with his three anabaptist sons), I must be made a liar, if not worse; what hath made all the sober, godly people in Ireland afraide of that interest, and groane under their oppression, some of the inclosed will make appear; as also that I am not without ane interest in godly men, whoe not believe of me, as Colonel Hewson would suggest. The bearer will tell you of actings heer, and what my camp and councells have bin, and whither they have tended. I have nothing in my ey of selfe: its the honour of God, the safety of his Highness, good of sober people, I aime at. Let his Highness doe with me as he please; send me into a Welch cottage, if it be for his service. If the bearer doe not meet with ill company by the way, (though judged their friend having been courted and congratulated), I doe not at all fear his relation of things heer, wherewith he is thoroughly acquainted. I desire you will get speedy access to his Highness, before he gets to Wallingford House."

What became of Hewson's children is not known; but in all probability they followed the father's fortune in Holland, who no doubt had taken care not to leave England empty-handed.

## Robert Lilbourne.

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THIS gentleman was descended of a very ancient and honourable family, and eldest son of Richard Lilbourne, Esq. of Thickly Punchardon, in the county Palatine of Durham, (where the family had been seated from the time of King Henry the Sixth,) by Margaret his wife, daughter of Thomas Hixon, of Greenwich, yeomen of the wardrobe to Queen Elizabeth.

Robert Lilbourne early imbibed a rooted hate to the court party, which was no way diminished by the rigorous punishment inflicted through a star-chamber sentence on his next brother, the celebrated *free-born John*; and no sooner had the parliament taken up arms against the king in defence of themselves, and their proceedings, than he hastened to join their forces, and throughout the contest proved himself one of the bitterest scourges the cavaliers had to contend with. The zeal and spirit evinced by Lilbourne in his military capacity, particularly attracted the notice of Cromwell, by whom he was so highly patronised, as soon to rise to the rank of colonel, and to be intrusted with the command of a regiment; this was supposed at the time to be one of the most mutinous of any in the whole army, yet they agreed in 1647 to go, if called upon, into Ireland; Colonel Lilbourne, with Ireton, Okey, Rich, and Harrison, were soon after appointed to draw up some heads of advice to be presented to the general, by the Council of War, stating, that "they acknowledged and promised due obedience to the general, and requested he would remind the parliament to consider and resolve those things which had been presented to them from the army, and desiring that as soon as the necessary great affairs should be done, that a period might be set to the parliament."

In 1648, Colonel Lilbourne took the field in Lancashire, where he completely defeated Sir Richard Tempest, though greatly inferior to him in force: each party shewed the most determined valour, but Lilbourne obtained a





COL. JOHN OKEY,

Executed at Tyburn, 1662.

*John Okey*







most signal victory, taking prisoners six hundred of the horse, and three hundred others, among whom were many knights and gentlemen; a matter more to be wondered at, when his own force was but six hundred in all, and it must naturally be supposed, that in a well contested engagement, the loss on his side must have been considerable.

Finding however, after this affair, that the Scots were entering England in order to join Langdale, he prudently drew nearer to Lambert's forces, and throughout the war he shewed the greatest bravery and conduct. Colonel Lilbourne was held in such high estimation by the parliament as well as the army, that he was one of the leading men appointed to form the tribunal, that brought the devoted Charles to trial: this was effected under the immediate influence and direction of Cromwell: the colonel sat as one of the king's judges, and attended in the Painted Chamber on the 15th, 17th, 19th, 23rd, 25th, and 27th day of January, and all the days in Westminster Hall, and signed the warrant for the execution.

In 1651, at the head of three regiments, he attacked and most completely defeated the Earl of Derby, who had mustered a considerable force at Wiggan, in Lancashire; and so decisive was this victory, that of one thousand five hundred men the Earl had brought into the field, he hardly had thirty, when he escaped to King Charles the Second, at Worcester; this engagement lasted about an hour.

In 1653, he was appointed commander-in-chief in Scotland, which kingdom he greatly assisted in bringing to absolute submission to the English parliament; marching to the very extremity of the highlands, and being every where victorious; he remained there until 1654, and was as true to Cromwell as he had been to the parliament. The Protector, when seated in full authority, placed the most unbounded confidence in Colonel Lilbourne; he not only continued him one of the committee of his division in Yorkshire, of the city of York; but gave him very great authority under Lambert the major-general; and when that officer shortly after fell into some discontent, and was superseded, the important trust he held was conferred on Lilbourne, who appears to have been every way qualified to discharge the office to the satisfaction of his employer: for he was as assiduous in privately ruining the royalists, as he had been openly in the field. When he had seized Lord Bellasyse at York, in 1655, he wrote to Secretary Thurloe, to know his Highness's farther pleasure about him: "for as I remember," says he, "that he was one pricked

down, I entreat your speedy answer herein, and I shall be glad to know what you do in general with such *kind of cattle*." His conduct was particularly severe against the loyal clergy, whom he denominated "scandalous ministers."

Lord Fauconberg tells Henry Cromwell, the Lord Deputy of Ireland, in a letter dated April 20th, 1658, that "Colonel Lilbourne is at home a malcontent, because General Monk has changed some of his officers." Upon the ruin of the protectorial power, he was one of the officers of the army, who went to the speaker Lenthall, at the rolls, to acquaint him that they would restore the parliament, and that they were devoted, as they expressed it, to the *good old cause*; but immediately after he joined the army interest, and was one of the Council of Officers who were to govern, until some other means were settled.

At the restoration, he was excepted absolutely as to life and estate, though he had surrendered himself; and being brought to trial at the Sessions House in the Old Bailey, October 16th, 1660, he pleaded not guilty; but the facts of sitting the last day, and signing the warrant for putting the king to death being proved, he was convicted, and being asked what he had to say why sentence should not be passed, he replied, "I shall not wilfully nor obstinately deny the matter of fact; but, my Lord, I must, and I can, with a very good conscience say, that what I did, I did it very innocently, without any intention of murder; nor was I ever plotter or contriver in the business, I was for the withdrawing of the court, when the king made the motion to have it withdrawn; and upon the day, my Lord, the king was put to death, I was so sensible of it, that I went to my chamber and mourned, and would if it had been in my power, have preserved his life. My Lord, I was not at all any disturber of the government; I never interrupted the parliament at all. I had no hand in those things, neither in 1648, nor at any other time. I shall humbly beg the favour of the king, that he would be pleased to grant me his pardon, according to his declaration which I laid hold on, and rendered myself to the proclamation.

The council for the prosecution on this statement, observing, they should urge nothing more against him, his life was spared, but he was sent prisoner to the Isle of St. Nicholas, near Plymouth, where he died in August, 1665, aged 52. Colonel Robert Lilbourne left several children, and his father being alive at the time of his trial, and no way implicated in the troubles of

the times, the colonel's children inherited their grandfather's estate of *Thickly Punchardon*, Durham, and several others in Yorkshire.

Colonel Henry Lilbourne, another brother of this family, after serving in the parliament army some time, quitted their interest, and was killed at Tinnmouth, fighting in the cause of King Charles I. ; to which circumstance, in all probability, his brother Robert was in some measure indebted for the preservation of his life.

## Colonel John Okey.

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**J**OHN OKEY is reported to have been of very low and mean parentage; the onset of his life was first in the character of a drayman, and afterwards a stoaker in a brewhouse at Islington; he afterwards set up in trade as a chandler near Bishopsgate; but being of an ambitious and daring disposition, he abandoned trade altogether, and taking advantage of the troubles the nation was involved in, he entered the parliament army with the hope of bettering his low fortune.

He passed through the several subordinate ranks until he became a captain of foot, then of horse, and afterwards was a major in the regiment of Sir Arthur Heselrigge. On the new modelling the army in 1645, he obtained the command of a regiment of dragoons, and soon after became a colonel of horse; and from that time was looked up to as a principal leader in the army. Being naturally of a bold and intrepid spirit, he distinguished himself on several occasions. He was eminently gifted with all the enthusiasm and cant of the times, and became first a puritan, afterwards a presbyterian, then an independent and anabaptist, and finally settled himself as a millenarian, or fifth-monarchy man.

Colonel Okey was in high favor with the republican party; and in 1647, he was appointed to draw up some heads of advice to be presented to the general, Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had, not long before, been constituted by the parliament, generalissimo of all the forces and forts in England, to dispose of them at his pleasure, with the office of Constable of the Tower.—Okey executed his commission in conjunction with Ireton, Lilbourne, Rich, and Harrison, which was so consonant to the desires of the whole army, that only five or six officers differed from them in opinion: and he continued as one of the council of officers, and was one of the principal persons instrumental in bringing the king to trial, and changing the kingdom into a re-



DR ISAAC DORISLAUS,

Assassinated at the Hague, May, 12<sup>th</sup> 1649.





public. He made himself particularly busy at the trial of the king, and attended every day except the 12th and 13th, and signed and sealed the death-warrant.

Colonel Okey rose to much consequence, and was in great trust with the parliament, and in 1650, was sent into Scotland at the head of a considerable body of forces, where he performed great services; in 1651 he took Stirling, and attacked and defeated a body of troops, with several persons of high rank, taking some, and dispersing the rest, just as they were about to take the field in support of Charles the Second. A jealousy breaking out between him and Colonel Alured, he deemed it expedient to return to England, in order to represent his case to the parliament.

Cromwell, who had now the sovereign sway, discovering Okey's attachment to the republican system, gave him no encouragement; in consequence of which, he endeavoured to persuade the officers of his regiment to declare for the Commonwealth, in opposition to the government by a single person; but in this he was effectually opposed by his own major, though he had with difficulty got him that appointment; and Cromwell in revenge took his regiment from him, and gave it to Lord Howard: enraged at his disgrace, he went over to the fifth-monarchy party, but was too well watched to do much mischief. He joined in a plot with vice-admiral Lawson, General Lord Grey, of Groby, Major-general Harrison, Colonel Rich, Venner the fanatic, and others; but the Protector's vigilance was such, that the intended mischief fell but on themselves. During the life of Oliver he never came into the least power, but in his son Richard's parliament, he was chosen one of the members for the county of Bedford.

At the return of the long parliament, the Wallingford-house party restored him his commission, which he used only for the benefit of the parliament, and laid a well regulated plan to seize the Tower, but the Lord Mayor defeated his aim, and he became so obnoxious to the army, and the city, that he was obliged to fly to the fleet for protection.

Returning soon after, he, in conjunction with Colonel Alured, got some troops together, and having mustered them in Lincoln's Inn Fields, declared for the parliament, and marched to the Speaker Lenthall's, and saluted him their General; but he not being prevailed on to act in the way desired, and General Monk approaching towards London, the whole party dispersed, each shifting in the best way possible for himself.

Colonel Okey, on the return of Charles the Second, contrived (though with great difficulty) to make his escape into Holland, from whence he removed himself for more safety to Hanau, a free town in High Germany; where he and Colonel Barkstead were well received, respected, and enrolled as free burgers of the said town or city. They lived here many months in good esteem with the inhabitants; but some urgent occasion requiring Colonel Barkstead to return into Holland, Colonel Okey, out of mere kindness and respect to his friend and companion, resolved to accompany him, and so both of them took the first convenient opportunity and embarked for Holland; having received encouragement to undertake the voyage from a friend whom they had employed to solicit some of the States General, that they might reside a short time within their jurisdiction unmolested; to which, as their friend informed them, they did most freely and willingly condescend. Another friend was more particularly engaged by Colonel Okey, to acquaint Sir George Downing (the king's resident then in Holland) with their intention of speedily coming into that country, in case they might for a few days remain there in safety, and that he had no order from the king, his master, to seize them. Sir George did assure that gentleman that he had no order from the king to apprehend or molest them, but they might be as free and safe there as himself. Upon this last encouragement did very much depend Colonel Okey, especially being (as he thought) confident that Sir George had a particular kindness for him, he having been the first to put bread in his mouth in England, and by whose single interest Sir George had been enabled to obtain the rank in life he then held, it appearing that this said Downing had been entertained in the Colonel's family in the capacity of Chaplain, and that he had been both clothed and fed at his expense. Yet no sooner did this monster of ingratitude learn that his prey was safely arrived in Holland, of which timely notice was given him by one of his spies employed for that purpose, and that they were at that time in Delft, but Sir George procured a warrant from the States General, (in violation of their promised protection) for the seizing of their persons, and by a premeditated plan drew in an indifferent person to be instrumental in their apprehension, who afterwards, when he learnt for what purpose he had been trepanned into the scheme, expressed his bitter sorrow for the commission of an action he afterwards abhorred and detested.

Colonel Okey was seized at his lodgings in company with Colonel Bark-

stead and Mr. Miles Corbet, who upon learning they had arrived in Delft, had only gone to pay the two Colonels a visit. They all three were immediately hurried to prison, and, by the procurement of Sir George, shackled and fettered, cast into a moist and dark dungeon, having no other accommodation than the damp earth to repose upon, in which condition they remained the whole of one night, and until two o'clock the next day. Some of the States came to see them in the prison, and assured them they should not be sent to England until they had a public hearing of what they could say in their own defence. But Downing wrought so effectually that at two o'clock the following morning they were taken out of the prison, manacled with wrist-irons, chains and locks, and thrust into a vessel lying at Delft, and from thence conveyed into an English frigate provided for the purpose, and in a few days brought to England and landed at the Tower.

On the 16th of April, 1662, they were conveyed by water to the King's Bench bar to receive judgment, having already by act of parliament been attainted of high treason for compassing the death of the late King Charles the First. After a very short dispute, whether the prisoners at the bar were the persons named in the forementioned Act of Attainder, yea or no, witnesses being produced who made full proof in the affirmative, and the prisoners themselves confessing it, the jury, without going from the bar, gave in their verdict that they were the persons named in the said Act, judgment was given against them accordingly. After sentence they were remanded back to the Tower, and continued there until their execution.

Three days following his sentence, Colonel Okey was drawn on a sledge to Tyburn, the place of execution, April 19th, 1662; when he arrived at the place, and was ready to rise from the sledge, a friend came to him, and asked him how he did? to whom he answered, "I bless the Lord, I am very well, and do no more value what I am now going about, than this straw," (taking up a piece on which he sate in his hand). "I have," says he, "made many a charge in my time, but now I have but one charge more to make, and then I shall be at rest." So far from endeavouring to exculpate himself from the charge of having sate in judgment on the king, Colonel Okey averred that "he was ready to suffer for that cause which he had strenuously defended;" and in the presence of many witnesses said, if he had as many lives as he had hairs on his head, he would willingly hazard them all on the same account. Okey, Barkstead, and Corbet, died much pitied on account of their having

been so basely betrayed, particularly Okey, who was greatly esteemed both for his known valour and other excellent qualities.\*

\* When Colonel Okey's body was quartered, it pleased the king to send a warrant to the sheriff of London, to deliver the macerated body to be buried where his wife should think meet, which thing being granted, without petition or application from her or his relations, and the rumour of his funeral suddenly flying about the City, and the place appointed at Stepney, (where his first wife lay in a fair vault, which he had purchased formerly for a burying place for himself and family) there was a numerous concourse of respectable persons assembled at Christ Church, to attend the corpse, and some thousands more were coming thither for that purpose; so that there were in view about twenty thousand people attending that solemnity at, and coming to, the place aforesaid, who in a solemn and peaceable manner behaved themselves as the affair required. Yet it so pleased the king to revoke his first grant to Mrs. Okey, and by the sheriff of London to disappoint and send home again the company attending the funeral; which sheriff, with much harshness and many bitter words, did his work. The people, though much troubled at the disappointment, so soon as they understood the king's pleasure, departed, and left the mangled limbs to be disposed of by them that had devoted them to the gibbet and axe; the company left many a thousand sighs to attend him to his then unknown grave.

That night the body was carried to the Tower of London, and there, by Mr. Glendon, parson of Barking, was buried with the service book, afresh wounding his bleeding limbs thereby, but the rapes are imputed only to the ravisher. Mr. Glendon could not but say, that his body was laid there *in sure and certain hope of a joyful resurrection*. His testimony was true, though a poet of their own; and now there he lies, and the Tower of London is his tomb. His epitaph he partly writ in the hearts of thousands at the place of execution.

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COL: FRANCIS HACKER.

(Executed at Tyburn, 1660)



## Dr. Isaac Dorislaus,

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**DOCTOR DORISLAUS** was a native of Holland, a scholar and a gentleman, who came to England to prosecute his studies; he resided a considerable time in the University of Oxford, where he obtained a degree as a Doctor of Laws, and became likewise a celebrated professor there; at the commencement of the Civil War, he became judge advocate in the parliament army. The cavalier-party make him out to have been a school-master, and to have fled his country for some cause, but no proofs are given to establish this as a fact.

Doctor Dorislaus was in the habit of strict intimacy with Sir Henry Mildmay, at whose house, in Essex, he is reproached with ordinarily playing at cards on Sundays, and that it was through Sir Henry's means he was employed to draw up the charge against the king; the rather, as no Englishman could be found hardy enough to undertake the same; this however appears to be little more than surmise, for if a Bradshaw as President, and Cook as Solicitor-General, to recite the charge in open court could be procured, what doubt can be entertained, but similar individuals should be found with equal intrepidity to undertake, at any rate, a task of equal daring?

After the execution of Charles, Dorislaus was selected by the parliament as a fit person to go as their envoy to the States-General; it being imagined he would be better received in that capacity, as their own countryman, than any other person; and the knowledge he possessed of most transactions during the progress of the war, rendered him every way qualified to place the actions of the British government in the most favourable light. He arrived at the Hague in his quality of foreign minister in May, 1649; but the first night, as he was at supper, one Colonel Whitford, a Scotchman, (then attending the King's Court) with some twelve other royalists, regretting and disdaining the affront done to the king, by the impudent boldness of this fellow's address in the face of his Majesty; entered his lodging, and with a broad sword cleaved

his head and killed him, suffering his page to escape; but, by a mistake, wounding another Dutchman for him at their first coming in; and having done the deed, quietly departed: and though the States pretended a hue and cry, yet the people were generally well satisfied, and applauded the execution. The government of England, on the contrary, as soon as intelligence of this assassination reached London, were highly exasperated, and set forth a declaration, wherein they imputed this fact to the royalists, and upon the next occasion threatened to retaliate it upon those of that party then in their hands; notwithstanding which, Anthony Ascham, their agent and envoy to the Court of Spain, some time after, with his interpreter Signior Riba, was served in the same manner, on his arrival in Madrid at his Inn, by one Sparks, and other English merchants; upon the same account. When Sparks fled to the Venetian ambassador's, and thence to Sanctuary, from which he was, however, soon taken, and publicly executed.

The war which broke out between the Commonwealth and the States of Holland in 1655, was, in great part, occasioned by the public affronts offered to the ambassadors of the former, Dorislaus and St. John, in the very presence of the States-General: and they gave the Dutch a taste of their displeasure, by their act, forbidding foreign ships to trade hither.

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## Francis Hacker.

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**COLONEL Francis Hacker** was one of those soldiers of fortune who rose to rank, and became noticed, through the troubles of the times he lived in; very little is known of his private history, or from what family he was descended. As a soldier and officer he was held in great trust by Cromwell and his party, and acted a principal part in the tragedy of King Charles the First. The particulars of the share Colonel Hacker had in that transaction, is related by Colonel Tomlinson, at Hacker's trial, in the following words:—"I had indeed to do with the guard that had to do with the person of the king about St. James's. Being then an officer of the army, a colonel of horse, when the king came to St. James's, it was observed by some, that there was too great an access of people admitted to the king; and within one day or two after, there was a party of halberdiers appointed for the stricter observing the guard; they were commanded by three gentlemen, of whom this prisoner at the bar was one; the orders every day for removing the person of the king were commonly directed to four persons, and those were, myself, Lieutenant-Colonel Cobbet, Captain Merryman, and one more; but the guards that still went along were the halberdiers. So that every day when the king did go to Westminster, he went to Sir Robert Cotton's house, and so far I went with him, nor saw him at that pretended High Court of Justice. When he used to go to the High Court of Justice, commonly (every time indeed) the Serjeant, Serjeant Dendy, (as I remember his name was) used to come and demand that the king should go to the High Court of Justice, and Colonel Hacker did ordinarily go with him, with the halberdiers. It was my custom to stay in the room till he came back again. These orders continued during the time of his trial. After the sentence was given, on the day whereon the execution was to be done, it was ordered, (which order may be produced, if significant) that the guards that were for the security of the person of the

king, should cease, when a warrant from the High Court of Justice for the execution should be produced : I would not omit any thing that I well remember, that the night before the execution the king called me into his chamber, and told me several things. I will take the occasion to trouble you with a short discourse of it. He told me of some legacies he had given ; he told me he had prepared something that he would speak the next day ; and in the close of it, he desired me that I would not leave him ; (for I speak it in truth) there were many times several incivilities offered to him ; and though I was upon a duty that was of a harsh and displeasing nature to me, and did desire several times to be released from it, (as I believe it is well known to some) yet I did not admit any time that any incivility should be offered to him. People would take tobacco before him, and keep their hats on before him ; I always checked them for it ; he was pleased to have a consideration of that care that I had in that capacity I then stood. That very night before his death, he was pleased to give me a legacy, which was a gold tooth-picker and case that he kept in his pocket. The next day, when the warrant came, the guards of halberdiers went with him through St. James's Park ; I was present, walking near the king ; the Bishop of London (now of Canterbury) was with him, and some others. As we were going through the Park, he was pleased to discourse something of what he had been discoursing before, touching his burial ; he wished that the Duke of Richmond and some others that he should bring, should take care of it. That morning, in the Park, he told me he had been thinking of what he had said the night before. He told me he had some thoughts that his son might come to bury him, and desired he might not suddenly be buried. I gave him assurance I would communicate his desire, and so I did. When he came to Whitehall, he went into a room in the gallery, (I know not the name) the guard stood in the outer room there. There was a gentleman that came to me there, and told me he was endeavouring to present a letter from the prince to the king, and told me he could not get an opportunity ; I said he should not want an opportunity if I could help him ; it was Mr. Henry Seymour ; it was delivered, and the king read it, and he gave several things in charge to Mr. Seymour to acquaint the prince with, and was pleased to mention to him something of civility that I had shewn him in his imprisonment ; the effect and fruit of it I find, and do most humbly acknowledge before all the world my thanks to his most gracious



majesty the king, and to the Lords and Commons. After Mr. Seymour was gone from him, (I do not well remember the time, whether it was twelve, one, or two o'clock) Colonel Hacker came in, and there was present with him the two other gentlemen that were named in the warrant, (as I remember) I am sure Colonel Hacker (if my memory fail me not) did produce the warrant. Myself, and those gentlemen that were concerned in the former orders, looked upon this warrant, by which the orders which we had were at an end. I must confess I did not, nor none of those did tell him, that the orders for the security of his person were at an end; but Colonel Hacker did go in to him, and after a little while Colonel Hacker comes to the door, and the king was coming forth, and he told me that the king desired I should go along with him; and indeed the night before, when the king told me that he had prepared something to speak, he desired I would not leave him. So Colonel Hacker led him forth, the Bishop of London followed him, and I followed the Bishop of London; the guards were prepared without, and they went on to the scaffold. When we came to the scaffold, I went so far as to the entrance upon it; the king was upon it, and had looked a little while about it, and was thinking to have spoken over, but he turned to me, and began to direct his speech to me. I cannot trouble you with what the king said, for I cannot remember it; but that Colonel Hacker was there in prosecution of that warrant, and upon that warrant our orders were at an end."

Colonel Huncks deposed, "That day the king died, a little before the hour he died, I was in Ireton's chamber, where Ireton and Harrison were in bed together; there was Cromwell, Colonel Hacker, Lieutenant-Colonel Phayer, Axtel, and myself, standing at the door; this warrant for the execution was there produced, and you [*looking upon Mr. Hacker at the bar*] were reading of it; but Cromwell addressed himself to me, commanding me, by virtue of that warrant, to draw up an order for the executioner. I refused it; and upon refusing of it there happened some cross passages. Cromwell would have no delay. There was a little table that stood by the door, and pen, ink, and paper being there, Cromwell stepped and writ. (I conceive he wrote that which he would have had me to write). As soon as he had done writing, he gives the pen over to Hacker; Hacker, he stoops and did write (I cannot say what he writ); away goes Cromwell, and then Axtel; we all went out; afterwards they went into another room.

*Council.* What followed?

*Huncks.* Immediately the king came out, and was murdered.

*Council.* Did Hacker only write his name, or give directions in the drawing up of the order.

*Huncks.* I conceive he only writ his name."

On the above evidence, Colonel Hacker was called on for his defence. When he said, "Truly, my Lord, I will confess what I know in this case, to save your Lordship and the Court trouble. I confess I was upon the guard, and had a warrant to keep the king for his execution, and truly have no more to say for myself, but that I was a soldier, and under command, and what I did was by that commission you have read."

The Lord Chief Baron, in his charge to the Jury, observed, "The prisoner doth not deny the fact; you need go no farther; it is very plain he had a hand in this business, a principal agent in it; he that brought the king to the scaffold; he that had the care in managing that business; he that signed the warrant to the executioner; either he is guilty of compassing the death of the king, or no man can be said to be guilty."

The Jury went together, and after some little consultation returned to their places, when they brought in a verdict of guilty.

On Friday, October 19, 1660, Colonel Hacker was drawn on a hurdle to Tyburn, where he spake very little,\* and left the whole business of prayer to

\* Though Colonel Hacker spake but little extempore, he read the following speech from a paper which he held in his hand.

"Friends and Countrymen—all that have known me in my best estate, have not known me to have been a man of oratory, and that God hath not given me the gift of utterance as to others: therefore I have only this briefly to say unto you that are spectators:—As the parliament stated the war, I did out of judgment and conscience join with them, in the common cause, and have through grace been faithful to it according to my measure. And as for that which now I am condemned for, I do freely forgive both Judges, Jury, and Witnesses, and all others; and I thank the Lord, to whom I am now going, at whose tribunal I must render an account, I have nothing lies upon my conscience as guilt, whereof I am now condemned; and do not doubt but to have the sentence reverst. I do now apply myself unto God by prayer, and do desire the hearty prayers of all that fear God, that I may have a sweet passage from this mortal life, to that immortal life which God hath prepared for all that are in Jesus Christ.

" FRANCIS HACKER."

After the reading of this, he desired that Colonel Axtel would be both their mouths to God in prayer.

be carried on by Colonel Axtel, who performed it for them both. Which being ended, he was only hanged; and being cut down was put into a hearse sent to the place of execution by his son, who had begged his body from the king; and the request being granted, without quartering, the son caused him to be buried in the City of London.



## Isaac Pennington.

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THIS gentleman came of a good family, and was nearly allied to Sir John Pennington, Knight, gentleman in ordinary of his majesty's privy chamber, governor and captain of Lansdown Castle in Kent, and vice-admiral of the royal fleet. These kinsmen, however affianced by blood, were by no means so in politics, and it is difficult to ascertain which of them went the farthest in support of the party each sided with. Isaac, probably as a younger branch of the family, speculated in trade and commerce to advance his fortune, and so far succeeded and prospered, that in city honours we find him serving the office of sheriff of London and Middlesex in the mayoralty of Sir Morris Abott, 1638, and that of Lord Mayor in 1642; in which memorable year, during his mayoralty, was fought the great battle at Edge Hill, Cheapside Cross utterly demolished, and the Cathedral Church of St. Paul's shut up: to such a pitch had the fanatic, presbyterian, and reforming principles arrived.

Pennington had long been a leading and popular man in London; in the month of December, 1640, he attended (with some hundreds following him) the House of Commons, to present the citizens' petition, which was subscribed by fifteen thousand persons, against the discipline and ceremonies of the national church: this produced the resolution of the House of Commons, "That the clergy in a synod or convocation, had no power to make laws, canons, or constitutions, to bind either laity or clergy, without the parliament, and that the canons made by the late convocation are against the fundamental laws of this realm, the king's prerogative, propriety of the subject, the rights of parliament, and to tend to faction and sedition. They therefore voted, that a bill should be brought in to fine those of the clergy who sat in the late convocation, and were actors in making those canons."

Alderman Pennington, making himself very busy in this transaction, was appointed one of the militia, as named by the parliament; and falling into all





JOHN COOK.  
(Executed at Charing Crofs, 1660.)







the popular measures of the times, he grew into great notice and consequence, and was wonderfully followed whithersoever he led the way, by all those who were enemies to the measures of the court party.

The multitude at this time were entirely in the interest of the parliament, and Pennington was so well known as the ringleader and belwether of the flock, that when the City petitioned King Charles the First, "professing their loyalty to him," the king told them, "that he had a good opinion of many of them, and would willingly pardon all except this alderman, Ven, Fowk, and Manwaring," which evidently shews that the temper of these men was well known to the court at this early period, for they all became the immediate instruments in the king's destruction, though they constantly professed their loyalty towards his person, pretending only to oppose some of the laws which appeared to them to press upon the subject, especially the good citizens of London.

There was ever a good correspondence kept up between the army and the disaffected in the city; and Pennington, who stood high with both, and likewise with the parliament, was not only appointed to the office of Lord Mayor, but had the lieutenancy of the Tower conferred on him, purposely taken for that occasion from Sir Edward Coniers. At this time he seemed omnipotent: he was a member of parliament, a militia and committee-man for London, lieutenant of the Tower, and the chief magistrate, which was continued to him half a year beyond the legal term of his mayoralty, though contrary to the king's express command sent from Oxford.

In 1645, he was obliged to relinquish the Tower, in compliance with the self-denying ordinance; and the Lord Mayor, Sir Thomas Atkyns, and the common council of London, were to elect a proper person for that most important trust: afterwards his credit declined; for, in 1647, he, with several others of the common council, were put out of the city militia; but, he soon recovered his consequence with the ascendancy of the army.

When the trial of the king was determined, he was fixed upon by the army as one every way qualified to go through the business without flinching, and was therefore appointed one of the commissioners of the self-elected High Court of Justice, and in that capacity sat in the painted chamber, on the 20th, 22d, 23d, and 24th days of January, and in Westminster Hall the three former days, and the 27th, which was the final one, when sentence was passed;

but fortunately for him (as it afterwards appeared) did not sign the warrant to carry it into execution.

When the government was dissolved by the death of the king, he was one of the city magistrates that assisted the Lord Mayor, Thomas Andrews, in proclaiming the act for abolishing kingly power, and was made a member of the council of state in the years 1649 and 1650; but in other respects became an insignificant cypher, and tool in the hands of the protector.

At the restoration, he was absolutely excepted out of the bill of indemnity; but surrendering himself he was tried, with many others, at the Sessions House in the Old Bailey, October 16, 1660, having been arraigned the preceding tenth of that month, when he had pleaded not guilty; but being called upon again at this time, he said, "I am unwilling to be troublesome to the court. This I shall take the boldness to say, (which shall be nothing but truth) I never had a hand in plotting or contriving malicious practices against his majesty, demonstrated by my utterly refusing to sign the warrant for his execution, though often solicited thereto. I cannot deny but I sat amongst them that day of the sentence; but I cannot remember I was there when the sentence passed. My sitting amongst them was out of ignorance; I knew not what I did; therefore I hope you will believe there was nothing of malice in any thing I did; I was misled in it. If I had known what I had done, I would not have done it. I humbly pray that there may be a favorable construction made of it; I humbly leave it to you. I did my duty to pray for the king, but had no malice to act willingly against him.

The Judge, in his charge, mentioned his penitence to the Jury, who brought him in Guilty; but having considerable interest, and being extremely rich, his friends so actively exerted themselves in his behalf, that his life was spared, though he could not obtain his liberty, being committed a close prisoner to the Tower, where he lingered out a miserable existence, and died a prisoner there, December 17, 1661.

Alderman Pennington realized a considerable fortune during the distraction of the times. The parliament gave him three thousand pounds, money, the property of his relation Admiral Sir John Pennington, who had for security deposited it in his hands; and the forfeiture of treble damages was also remitted to him, Sir John being, according to their language, a delinquent; and, as a farther reward, they gave him three thousand pounds more, with

another afterwards, and restored him to the office he had lost in the city militia.

Pennington was a great speculator in the purchase of bishops' lands, and in addition to his own means had taken up considerable sums from merchants and tradesmen, in order to extend the number of his bargains. He had been put to some inconveniences to repay some of this money previous to the return of Charles the Second, and the church lands being restored to their former possessors, Pennington's creditors became severe sufferers.

There are two portraits preserved of this person; the first, which certainly is most likely to be genuine, is prefixed to an extreme rare tract in quarto, entitled, "A true declaration, and just commendation, of the great and incomparable care of the Right Honourable Isaac Pennington, Lord Mayor of the City of London, in advancing and promoting the bulwarks and fortifications about the city and suburbs, with a vindication of his honour from all malicious aspersions of malignants; published and presented to his honour by W. S. 1643."

In the second, he is represented with a golden chain and a sword in his hand; a small portrait inserted in a print, intituled, "The Committee, or Popery in Masquerade." In this print are represented the several sectaries seated at a table, before which stood the mare and the quaker; and the dog with the elder's maid, &c.; large half sheet; alluding to some very indecent circumstances which were the subject of very popular ballads amongst the loyalists.\*

\* Isaac Pennington, the son of the alderman, became a writer of considerable estimation among the people called Quakers. When he was first introduced to this sect, he thought them a poor, weak, and contemptible people; although while his judgment seemed to reject them, the conferences which he occasionally had with them seemed to increase his secret attachment. At length, in 1658, he became fully satisfied respecting them, partly through the preaching of George Fox; and became himself an unshaken and constant assertor of their peculiar tenets, as a minister and author. It appears that he met with opposition from his relations, and, among the rest, from his father; but he declares that his heart was preserved in love to them amidst all he suffered. He resided on his own estate, called the Grange, at Chalfont, in Buckinghamshire; and married, about 1648, Mary Springett, a widow, whose daughter, by her former husband, became the wife of William Penn.

Mr. Pennington suffered imprisonment on account of his principles six times in the reign of Charles the Second, five of which were in his own county; the first time in 1661, and the last in 1670; and during one of these imprisonments, his estate was seized, and his wife and family turned out of the house. He died at Goodnestone Court, Sussex, in 1679, aged sixty-three years, in great esteem, and highly respected by all who knew him.

## John Cook.

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MR. John Cook was a Barrister of Gray's Inn, where he resided, and was in considerable practice, when appointed to the office of Solicitor General by that power that dared to bring to public trial King Charles the First. Some writers insinuate it was more from poverty than principle he engaged in this undertaking;\* but whoever will look to the manner in which he conducted

\* That Mr. Cook was labouring under embarrassed circumstances evidently appears by the deposition of a witness on his trial.

*Mr. Starkey.*—My Lord, this gentleman, now prisoner, and myself, have been acquainted a great while, being of the same society of *Gray's Inn*; and truly, my Lord, I confess I owe all my knowledge in the laws to that gentleman. When I came first, he was accused for debt, and was pleased to do me, and several other gentlemen, now and then the favour to read the law with us, and assist us in the beginning of the Long Parliament; that is, to give you an account of his being indebted, he did desire I would do my endeavour to get his protection. Near the time of the king's trial, there was a gentleman with myself, one *Samuel Palmer* of *Gray's Inn*, who frequented his company, had several nights the opportunity of understanding the affairs at Westminster; and truly, he himself did seem to us to count that a very ridiculous council. I remember what he said one night, '*I think they are all mad,*' which was within two or three days before the king's trial; and instanced how a fellow cried out to the Lord Fairfax, that if he did not consent to the proceedings, he would kill Christ and him. After that I did not think he did go to this council for employment, but out of curiosity. When the king came to trial, we heard that Mr. Cook was the person that was solicitor, and acted that part that you have heard of; and that during that trial, whether the second or third day I cannot say that certainly, Mr. Cook came to *Gray's Inn* that evening about ten or eleven of the clock at night, only upon some particular occasion as he said; I being walking in the court in the walk before my chamber with another gentleman, I did see him pass out of a house to go back again; I thought it was he, called after him. 'Mr. Cook,' said I, upon which he turned back and met me; I took him by the hand; said I, 'I hear you are up to the ears in this business.' 'No,' saith he, '*I am serving the people.*' 'Truly,' said I, 'I believe there's a thousand to one will not give you thanks,' said I, 'I hear you charge the king for the levying the war against the parliament; how can you rationally do this, when you have pulled out the parliament to make way to his trial?' He answered me, '*You will see strange things, and you must*





DANIEL AXTEL,  
Executed at Tyburn, 1660.





the charge, may perceive he was no way behind the President Bradshaw in acrimony against the unfortunate monarch. The Rump Parliament, about the 10th of January, 1648, after they had made an Act for constituting a High Court of Justice, directed an order to Mr. Cook, together with Mr. Ask and Dr. Dorislaus, to draw up a charge against the king. In this Mr. Cook was most particularly active, and when the king appeared in Court, exhibited the following charge, "That he the said John Cook, by protestation (saying on behalf of the people of England the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other charge against the said Charles Stuart; and also of replying to the answers which the said Charles Stuart shall make to the premises, or any of them, or any other charge that shall be so exhibited) doth for the said treasons and crimes, on the behalf of the said people of England, impeach the said Charles Stuart as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth of England, and prayeth that the said Charles Stuart, king of England, may be put to answer all and every the premises; that such proceedings, examinations, trials, sentences, and judgment, may be hereupon had, as shall be agreeable to justice; and further prayed justice against him, saying the blood that had been spilt cried for it."

On the king's attempting an endeavour to shew the incompetency of this Court to try the question, he was ever interrupted by Cook, who complained to the Court of the time being trifled away, and moved, that if the king would not plead to the things complained of in the charge, judgment might be taken *pro confesso*: and the last day demanded judgment of the Court against the prisoner at the bar, (the title he gave the king), upon which sentence was given and execution soon after followed.

So little appears Mr. Cook to have had any compunction for the part he acted in the trial, that he shortly after wrote a book, entitled, "Monarchy no creature of God's making," in which he states "that the late king was the fattest sacrifice that ever was offered to Queen Justice."

The parliament, to reward Mr. Cook, ordered him as the thanks of the House, three hundred pounds per annum, in the County of Waterford, in

*wait upon God.* I did ask him, but first he said this of himself, saith he, *'He was as gracious and wise a prince as any in the world,'* which made me reflect upon him again, and asked how he could press those things as I have heard. What answer he made to that I cannot tell; I did by the way enquire what he thought concerning the king, whether he must suffer or no. *He told me, 'He must die, and monarchy must die with him.'*

Ireland, whither they sent him likewise in quality of a judge. He was not long here before the commissioners for government in Ireland made choice of him as the chief judge to examine, try, and give sentence upon an Act lately passed against the delinquents (as they were termed) those who had been found guilty of assisting the late king in his troubles. He continued to act in his judicial capacity in Ireland, until the restoration of Charles the Second, when he was seized, and sent prisoner to England, in order to take his trial for high treason.

During the time he remained in power, it was his practice occasionally to preach up and down the country, and being himself an anabaptist, he particularly favored all of that sect.

Mr. Cook, after remaining in confinement four months, was brought to the bar of the Old Bailey, October 14, 1660; and after a trial that occupied the best part of the day, upon the clearest evidence as to his preparing and drawing the charge stated in the indictment, was found Guilty.

This man was far gone in the fanaticisms of the times, and during the interval of his imprisonment in the Tower of London and Newgate, his conviction and execution, had frequent conversations on religious topics with his wife and friends. His wife coming to visit him in the Tower, but not having admittance, he saw her from a window, and said, "Go home to thy friends, my dear lamb, I am well; blessed be God, they cannot keep the Comforter from me." His wife asking the gaoler to see him (another time) he answered, she might see him suddenly in Newgate. Her husband hearing of this, said, "If the way to the new Jerusalem be through Newgate, blessed be God for Newgate; the King of Glory will set open his everlasting gate to receive me shortly, and then I shall be for ever with the Lord."

After he was brought to Newgate, discoursing with some friends there, he said, "I am now going to my trial, wherein the Lord strengthen me. If I be attainted, yet my estate in Ireland is not thereby forfeited, without an act of parliament to that purpose, and indeed it is much set upon my heart, that if my small estate be taken away from my poor wife and child, it will prove as poison to those that enjoy it, and consumptive to the rest of their great estates; for I bless God I never acted maliciously or covetously, but in a spirit of simplicity and integrity; however the good will of the Lord be done."

Speaking to some in prison, for the clearing of himself from false aspersions, he said, "Whereas some say I have done them wrong, they do much wrong

me in so saying ; I have relieved many so far as by law I could, knowing that the worst of men ought to have justice. I bless God I durst not wrong any man, for I know that I shall meet them at the last day before the bar of Christ's judgment, where I can with boldness look all men in the face, as to matter of justice, for which I have great cause to bless the Lord : Holy be his name!"

On Tuesday, October 16, 1660, Mr. Cook was drawn upon a hurdle from Newgate to Charing Cross, the place appointed for execution ; and in order to intimidate and disturb his thoughts, the disfigured head of Major-General Harrison (who had been executed a few days before) was placed, with the bare face before him, on the sledge ; but notwithstanding the dismal sight, he passed rejoicingly through the streets, as one borne up by that spirit, which man could not cast down. All the way as he went, lifting up his hands and eyes, and would often turn towards the people, desiring them to pray for him. Being come to the place of execution, when he was taken out of the sledge, he said, " This is the easiest chariot that ever I rid in in all my life." He ascended the ladder very cheerfully, and told the sheriff that as for himself he thanked God he could welcome death ; but as for Mr. Peters (who was to die with him) he could very well have wished that he might be reprieved for some time, for that he was neither prepared nor fit to die.

Mr. Cook entered into a speech of considerable length, in which he attempted to justify himself in the part he had taken against the late king at his trial, but was ever interrupted by the sheriff when he touched on that subject. He concluded with observing, " And as for my profession, I am of the congregational way ; I desire to own it ; and am for liberty of conscience, and all that walk humbly and holily before the Lord, and desire to walk in the fear of the Lord ; and believe it a truth, and there can be nothing said against it. I do confess I am not convinced of any thing I have done amiss, as to that I have been charged with ; I am not indeed ; neither did I understand the plea of the court, that if the Lords and Commons had brought the king to the bar, and set him over them again, their bringing him to the bar had been treason. I desire never to repent of any thing therein I have done ; but I desire to own the cause of God, and of Christ, and am here to bear witness to it ; and so far as I know any thing of myself, I can freely confess it." [*Here the sheriff interrupted him again, desiring him to forbear any such expressions.*] Mr. Cook replied, " It hath not been the manner of

Englishmen to insult over a dying man; nor in other countries among Turks and Galliasies. The Lord keep England from popery and from superstition; and keep it from prophaneness, and that there may not be an inundation of antichrist in the land; and that is all the harm I wish unto it." After some farther observations, the executioner did his office, and being quartered, his head was ordered to be set on Westminster Hall, and his limbs were sent to be set upon the gates of the City of London:







HUGH PETERS,  
Executed at Charing Cross, 1660.





## Daniel Axtel.

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**DANIEL AXTEL** came originally from Bedfordshire, but afterwards settled in London, where his friends had sent him in order to be apprenticed to some trade; the business he chose was that of a grocer, which for some time he followed; but the troubles coming on, Axtel came to the determination of not remaining neuter, and entered the parliament army as a private soldier. Yet notwithstanding, being a spiritually gifted man (for so he was termed) he very quickly arrived at the mark of more public notice.

When the army were collected together, at Newmarket, in a mutinous manner against their masters the parliament; delegates were chosen out of each company to represent their grievances. Axtel (then but an ordinary officer) was pitched upon as an eminent and fit person to carry on their design of refusing to disband the army, when they were commanded thereunto by the parliament; and when the parliament and the king had come to terms of peace in the Isle of Wight, he came up at the head of the deputies, and at the bar of the parliament house impeached the members thereof, calling them rotten members, and other ill names; and at that time being Lieutenant-Colonel to Colonel Hewson's regiment of foot, was particularly active the day the secluded members were driven from the House and imprisoned, and was more than ordinarily officious in that business.

Colonel Axtel commanded the guards every day during the trial of the king in Westminster Hall, and when the king came through the Hall he ordered the soldiers to cry "Justice! Justice!" When the charge was read, and the king called upon to answer in the name of the Commons of England, a lady (Fairfax) from the gallery said, "Not half the Commons of England;" which being heard by Axtel, he said to his soldiers, "Shoot the whore, pull her down," with other insulting epithets; and on the last day of the court's sitting, previous to the sentence being given, he ordered them to cry, "Execution! Execution!"

heard it is the duty of your Lordships, the judges, to be of council for the prisoner in things wherein he is ignorant in matters of law, to make his just defence; and therefore, my Lord, the indictment itself being matter of law, if your Lordships please not to grant me council to speak to matters of law, I humbly pray that your Lordships will be pleased, that for want of knowledge, formalities, punctilios, and niceties of the law, I might not undo myself. I have heard that by a learned judge, that though the judge be of council to the king, yet by his oath he is also to be counsellor to the prisoner, and stands as mediator between the king and prisoner; and therefore, my Lord, I shall beg that humble favour, that wherein I shall fall short to make the best improvement of my plea in matter of law, that your Lordship will help me, and not take advantage against me as to the niceties, formalities, and punctilios of the law; and, my Lord, this is a resemblance of that great day, where Christ will be judge, and will judge the secrets of all hearts, and of all words, and of all persons, and by him all actions are weighed; he knows all our hearts, whether there be malice, or how it stands in the frame of each heart before him in this place; and therefore I hope there will be nothing by pre-judging, or any thing by precluding me to be so black a person as it seemed to be against me. My Lords, I must shorten the time, and come to speak as to the authority——

*Lord Chief Baron.* As to what, Sir?

*Axtel.* I speak as to the authority by which, or under which, I acted; I humbly conceive, my Lord, under favour, that I am not within the compass of that statute of the 25th of *Edward the Third* (under which I stand indicted), for that questionless must intend private persons, "*counselling, compassing, or imagining the death of the king.*" But you know, my Lords, the war was first stated by the Lords and Commons, the Parliament of England, and by virtue of their authority was forced to be raised, and they pretended by law that the right of the militia was in them; and your Lordships will remember in several declarations and acts that were mutually exchanged between his majesty and the parliament; and, my Lord, that was the authority, the Lords and Commons assembled in parliament raised a force and made the Earl of *Essex* general, and after him the Earl of *Manchester*, of the *Eastern* association, and after that Sir Thomas *Fairfax*, Lord General of the Forces. By this authority I acted, and this authority I humbly conceive to be legal, because this parliament was called by the king's writ, chosen by the people,

and passed a bill they should not be dissolved without their own consents; that the parliament was in being when the trial was, and a question whether yet legally dissolved.

“ In the fourth place, they were not only owned and obeyed at home, but abroad, to be the chief authority of the nation, and also owned by foreign states and kingdoms, which sent ambassadors to that purpose. Under them did all the judges of that land act, who ought to be the eye of the land, and the very light of the people, to guide them in their right actions; and I remember the judges upon a trial (I have read it of high treason) Judge *Thorp*, *Nicholas*, and *Jermin*, have declared it publicly, that it was a lawful, justifiable, thing by the law of the land to obey the Parliament of England. My Lord, it farther appears as to their authority over the people of this nation, petitioning them as the supreme and lawful authority; and, my Lords, as I have heard, it hath been objected that the Houses of Lords and Commons could make no act; truly, my Lord, if you will not allow them to be acts, though they entitle them so, call them so, and obeyed as so by the judges, ministers, and officers of state, and by all other persons in the nation, yet I hope they cannot be denied to be orders of parliament; and were they no more but orders, yet were they sufficient, as I humbly conceive, to bear out such as acted thereby. And, my Lord, the parliament thus constituted, and having made their general, he, by their authority, did constitute and appoint me to be an inferior officer in the army serving then in the quarters of the parliament, and under and within their power; and what I have done, my Lord, it hath been done only as a soldier, deriving my power from the general; he had his power from the fountain, to wit, the Lords and Commons; and, my Lord, this being done, as hath been said by several, that I was there, and had command at Westminster Hall, truly, my Lord, if the parliament commanded the general, and the general the inferior officers, I am bound by my commission, according to the laws and customs of war, to be where the regiment is; I came not thither voluntarily, but by command of the general, who had a commission (as I said before) from the parliament. I was no counsellor, no contriver; I was no parliament-man, none of the judges, none that sentenced, signed; none that had any hand in the execution; only that which is charged is, that I was an officer in the army; if that be so great a crime, I conceive I am no more guilty than the Earl of *Essex*, *Fairfax*, or the Lord of *Manchester*.

*Judge Mallet.* You are not charged as you were an officer of the army.

*Axtel.* My Lord, this is the main thing they do insist upon. My Lord, I am no more guilty than his Excellency the Lord General Monk, who acted by the same authority, and all the people in the three nations; and, my Lord, I do humbly suppose, if the authority is fact and not right, yet those that acted under them ought not to be questioned; but if the authority commanded, whatsoever offence they committed, especially that that guided me, was no less than the declared judgment of the Lords and Commons sitting in parliament. They declared that was their right as to the militia; and having explained several statutes of *Henry* the Seventh, wherein the king hath interchanged declarations with the parliament, the parliament comes to make an explanation on that statute; and, my Lord, it is in *folio* 280, wherein they do positively expound it, and declare it as their allowed judgment. To clear up all scruples to all that should take up arms for them, saith the parliament there, as to the statute of 11th *Henry* the Seventh, chapter the first, which is printed at large, comes there to explain it in general, and comes here, *folio* 281, and gives this judgment:—"It is not," say they, "*agreeable to reason or conscience, that any one's duty should be known, if the judgment of the High Court of Parliament be not a rule or guide to them.*" In the next place, this is the next guidance, rule and judgment of parliament, upon the exposition of this statute, and as they have said in several places, (was it not too much to take up your Lordships' time) they are the proper *judges and expounders of the law*. The High Court of Parliament have taken upon them to expound the law, and said, "That we lawyers will give the meaning of the text contrary to what they have expounded the meaning under their hands." In the same declaration, his majesty is pleased to quit that statute upon which I stand indicted, the 25th of Edward the Third, where they do, my Lord, expound that very statute in the declaration made in 1643. *Folio* 722, I come to the declared judgment, wherein they did positively say, that the persons that do act under their authority ought not to be questioned as persons guilty, *folio* 727; that is the exposition that the Lords and Commons assembled in parliament doth make upon the statute.

*Council.* My Lord, this is in argumentation of discourse in justification of his proceedings; we desire to know what he will answer as to the plea.

*Axtel.* My Lords, I have this farther to say, that if a House of Commons assembled in parliament may be guilty of treason, (for the truth is, if I acted treason that was acted under the authority of the Lords and Commons in

parliament) then doubtless they must begin the treason. If the House of Commons are the collective body and representation of the nation, all the people of England, who chose them, are guilty too; and then where will be a jury to try this?

*Lord Chief Baron.* If you have any thing to say to the Lords and Commons, answer to your charge. Your charge is nothing of the Lords and Commons, but what you acted when the House was broke and forced.

*Axtel.* I do desire to assert my authority. If any thing was done upon the House of Lords and Commons, I do not come here to justify their actions, I was not concerned in it. My next plea is this: That if a House of Commons can be charged guilty of high treason as a community, the distributive body must needs be guilty. Next, I humbly conceive here I must ground my bottom, and if I perish, I perish by a judgment in a parliament; my commission that did authorize me to obey my general, was given me when the Lords and Commons sate in parliament. I had no other commission than this. My Lord Fairfax commanded the army after the king's death by the like commission. I did my duty in going to my regiment; the general saith, 'Go to such a place, stay there;' if I obey, I am in danger likewise: I say, my commission was given me by the Lords and Commons, and therefore I hope, my Lord, that what I have said and offered in that particular is not truthless, but of weight."

Every plea, however, Axtel could urge, being overruled by the Court, the jury were charged, who after a little consultation brought in a verdict of Guilty.

On Friday, October 19th, 1660, Colonel Axtel was drawn from Newgate to Tyburn upon a hurdle; he appeared penitent and resigned to his fate, but yet retained a cheerful countenance. Being come to the gallows, he seriously told the people, that he went out in the wars, at the beginning thereof, by the instigation and encouragement of a minister in *Ironmonger Lane*, who stirred him with many motives to shew him it was the cause of God, &c. and many words to the same effect. After which he prayed most fervently for all sorts of people, and the executioner doing his office, his body after hanging some time was quartered, and the limbs disposed of upon the gates of the city.

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## Hugh Peters.

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No person was held in greater detestation, and pursued with more acrimonious spleen by the royalists, than Hugh Peters; neither Bradshaw nor Cromwell himself were half so hateful to them as this man; and indeed it must be acknowledged he gave them sufficient cause for the rooted hatred they had against him. We are informed by Bulstrode Whitlock (in his memorials) that when Sir Thomas Fairfax moved for storming *Bridgwater* anew, and it was assented to the Lord's Day before, Mr. Peters, in his sermon, encouraged the soldiers to the work. And at *Milford Haven*, the country did unanimously take the engagement, and Mr. *Peters* opened the matter to them, and did much encourage them to take it. He preached also in the market-place at *Torrington*, and convinced many of their errors in adhering to the *king's party*.

In order to blacken his character as much as lay in their power, his enemies have stopped at nothing; they make him out to have been a stage-player, mountebank, and buffoon, and have put forth a collection of coarse jests and merry tales under his name: to sum up the whole they give him the credit of many amorous intrigues, to which in all probability he was an utter stranger, and that upon his apprehension he was taken in bed lying between two women.\*

Notwithstanding all this scandal, nothing is more certain than that Hugh Peters came of a most respectable family; his father was a merchant of Foy in Cornwall, where the son was born in the year 1599, and at the age of

\* Peters himself was not insensible of his ill character amongst the opposite party; in his advice to an only child (his daughter) he says, "By my zeal, it seems, I have exposed myself to all manner of reproach; but I wish you to know, that (besides your mother) I have had no fellowship that way with any woman since I knew her; having a godly wife before, also, I bless God."



fourteen was sent to Cambridge, where being placed in Trinity College he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1616, and of Master in 1622. He was licensed by Dr. *Mountain*, Bishop of London, and preached at *St. Sepulchres* with great success. Meeting with some trouble on account of his nonconformity, he went to Holland, where he was five or six years; from whence he removed to New England, and after residing there seven years, was sent into England by that colony, to mediate for ease in customs and excise. The civil war being then on foot, he went into Ireland, and upon his return was entertained by the Earl of *Warwick*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and *Oliver Cromwell*, afterwards protector. He was much valued by the parliament, and improved his interest with them in the behalf of the unfortunate. He was very zealous and active in their cause, and had presents made him, and an estate given him by them of two hundred pounds per annum. He assisted Mr. *Chaloner* in his last moments, as he afterwards did Sir John Hotham, who was beheaded on Tower Hill.

Hugh Peters could fight as well as pray; though perhaps in his capacity as a preacher he was most serviceable to the cause of the parliament party; and was thought to be deeply concerned in the king's death, in consequence of which his name has been treated with much severity. He was appointed one of the triers for the ministry, and a commissioner for amending the laws, though poorly qualified for it. Peters himself confesses his inability in the following terms: "When I was a trier of others, I went to hear and gain experience, rather than to judge; when I was called about mending laws, I rather was there to pray than to mend laws; but in all these I confess I might as well have been spared."

In the beginning of the year 1658, Dunkirk being besieged, and every day expected to be taken, Hugh Peters was sent over to encourage the soldiers, as he had formerly done in Ireland; and being landed upon the sands of Flanders, he immediately fell upon his knees, and praying, told the soldiers that he had assurance from God that they were to be the instruments of making his name known to the utmost parts of the earth. Peters gave such entire satisfaction to Colonel Lockhart, the governor, and commander of the garrison, that in two letters to Secretary Thurloe, he particularly mentions the assistance Mr. Peters had rendered him and the military service in general.

The day after the death of the protector, Peters, preaching in the chapel

in Whitehall, took his text from Deuteronomy, "*My servant Moses is dead,*" and throughout his discourse endeavoured to make out that *Oliver Cromwell* equally had been the servant of God with *Moses*. On the restoration, Peters, well knowing how obnoxious he was to the royalists, endeavoured to conceal himself in order to make his escape to the Continent, but strict search being set on foot after him, he was at last found in a woman's bed who had newly lain in; when apprehended he denied himself to be the person they were in search of, but said his name was Thompson; this not being satisfactory to the constable and his men, they insisted on carrying him before a magistrate, when he begged they would not call him Peters, fearing the populace would tear him in pieces. On being brought before Sir Thomas Robinson, he candidly acknowledged his true name, and was by him committed to the Tower.

Hugh Peters was arraigned at the bar of the Old Bailey, October 10, 1660, and brought to trial on the 13th of the same month. Among a host of other witnesses, a Mr. Beaver deposed as follows: "My Lord, and you, Gentlemen of the Jury, upon a day that was appointed for a fast for those that sate then as a parliament, I went to Westminster to find out some company to dine with me; and having walked about an hour in Westminster Hall, and finding none of my friends to dine with me, I went to that place called *Heaven*, and dined there; after I had dined, I passed through St. Margaret's churchyard, to go home again (I lay in the Strand); I perceived all the churchyard full of muskets and pikes upon the ground, and asked some soldiers that were there, what was the business? They told me they were guarding the parliament that were keeping a fast at *St. Margaret's*. 'Who preaches?' said I; they told me 'Mr. *Peters* is just now gone up into the pulpit;' said I, 'I must needs have the curiosity to hear that man, having heard many stories of the manner of his preaching;' (God knows, I did not do it out of any manner of devotion); I crowded near the pulpit, and came near the Speaker's pew, and I saw a great many of the members there, whom I knew well. I could not guess what his text might be, but hearing him talk much of *Barabbas*, and our Saviour, and insisting altogether upon that, I guessed his text was that passage wherein the Jews did desire the release of *Barabbas*, and crucifying of Christ, and so it proved. The first thing I heard him say was, '*It was a very sad thing that this should be a question amongst us, as among the old Jews, whether our Saviour Jesus Christ must be crucified, or that Barabbas should be released, the oppressor of the people: O Jesus!*' saith he,

*'where are we that that should be a question amongst us?'* Says he, *'And because that you should think, my Lords and Gentlemen, that it is not a question, I will shew you it is a question. I have been in the City, which may very well be compared to Hierusalem in this conjunction of time; and I profess, those foolish citizens, for a little trading and profit, they will have Christ crucified (pointing to the Redcoats on the pulpit stairs) and that great Barabbas at Windsor released,'* says he: *'But I do not much heed what the rabble says. I hope,'* says he, *'that my brethren of the clergy will be wiser; the lips of the priests do use to preserve knowledge: I have been with them too in the assembly, and having seen and heard what they said, I perceive they are for crucifying of Christ, and releasing of Barabbas: O Jesus! what shall we do now?'* with such like strange expressions, and shrugging of his shoulders in the pulpit."

*Council.* How long was this before the king was murther'd?

*Beaver.* It was a few days before the House of Commons made that thing called an Act for his trial.

*Council.* What did he say to the members?

*Beaver.* I am coming to it. Says he, "*My Lords, and you, Noble Gentlemen of the House of Commons, you are the Sanhedrim, and the great council of the nation; therefore you must be sure to do justice; and it is from you we expect it. You must not only be inheritors of your ancestors, but you must do as they did; they have opposed tyrannical kings; they have destroyed them; it is you chiefly that we look for justice from. Do not prefer the great Barabbas, Murtherer, Tyrant, and Traitor, before these poor hearts, (pointing to the Redcoats) and the army, who are our saviours.*" And thus for two or three hours time that he spent, he nothing but raked up all the reasons, arguments, and examples, he could, to persuade them to bring the king to condign, speedy, and capital punishment.

*A Mr. Chase being sworn,* deposed, he heard the prisoner at the bar preaching before Oliver Cromwell and Bradshaw, who was called Lord President of the High Court of Justice, and he took his text out of the *Psalms*, in these words: "*Bind your kings with chains, and your nobles with fetters of iron.*" That was part of the text; but, says he in his sermon, "*Beloved, it is the last Psalm but one, and the next Psalm hath six verses, and twelve Hallelujahs, Praise ye the Lord, Praise God in his sanctuary, and so on; for what?'*" Says he, "*Look into my text, there is the reason*

for it, 'That kings were bound in chains,' &c." He went on with a story of a Mayor and a Bishop and his man. "*The Bishop's man*," saith he, "*being drunk, the Mayor laid him by the heels: the Bishop sends to the Mayor to know by what authority he was imprisoned; the Mayor's answer was, 'There is an Act of Parliament for it, and neither the Bishop nor his man are excepted out of it.'*" And applied it thus: "*Here is,*" saith he, "*a great discourse and talk in the word; 'What, will ye cut off the King's head! the head of a Protestant Prince and King?' Turn to your bibles, and you shall find it there, 'Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.'*" Says he, "*I will even answer them as the Mayor did the Bishop, Here is an Act of God, 'Whosoever sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed;'* And I see neither King Charles, nor Prince Charles, nor Prince Rupert, nor Prince Maurice, nor any of that Rabble excepted out of it." And further he said, "*This is the day that I and many of the saints of God besides have been praying for these many years.*"

HOLLAND SIMPSON sworn.

*Council.* What do you know concerning the prisoner at the bar?

*Simpson.* I do know Mr. *Peters* very well; I have known him these eleven or twelve years. When the High Court of Justice was sitting, both in the Court and *Painted Chamber*, I saw this gentleman in consultation there, and at several other places; at Sir *William Brereton's*, and otherwise.

*Council.* Did you see him at the trial?

*Simpson.* I saw him, but not as a judge. There was one day in the hall Colonel *Stubbards*, who was Adjutant General, (he was a very busy man) and Colonel *Axtel*; Mr. *Peters*, going down the stairs, comes to him, and bids *Stubbards* to command the soldiers to cry out "*Justice! Justice! against the Traitor at the bar.*"

*Council.* Who did he mean?

*Simpson.* The king was at the bar at the same time; whereupon, my Lord, the soldiers did cry out upon the same; and as the king was taken away to Sir *Robert Cotton's*, some of them spit in the king's face, but he took his handkerchief, wiped it off, and smiled.

*Peters.* I do not know this gentleman; did he ever see me?

*Simpson.* Yes, divers times in the *Painted Chamber*, at Sir *William Brereton's*, at the Deanery, in consultation with *Bradshaw*, and you were

admitted, and no man else, as I know, unless Sir *William Brereton*, who came along with you.

On the above evidence, Peters being called on for his defence, answered, " May it please your Lordship, I will give you an account of the business. I lived fourteen years out of England; when I came over, I found the wars begun; I **BEGAN NO WAR, MY LORD, NOR HAVE BEEN THE TRUMPETER.**

" When I came out of the West Indies, I fled from the war into Ireland, to the western part there; and it was after the rebellion, when some of the Irish had been stirring there. I was neither at *Edge Hill*, nor *Naseby*; but, my Lord, after I came over there was war that the people were engaged in; I was not here in the beginning of it, but was a stranger to the carriage of it. When I came into the nation, I looked after three things; one was, that there might be found religion; the second was, that learning and laws might be maintained; the third, that the poor might be cared for; and I must confess, I have spent most of my time in these things, to this end and purpose. There was a noise in all parts of some miscarriages in religion; after it was settled, I lived in Ireland. I must profess for my own part solemnly, that my carriage hath been upon these heads. For religion, I have, through God's mercies, spoke the truths of the Protestant Church. Upon this account I did stay to see what God might do. I was sent over to his majesty that we might have a little help in point of excise and customs, and encouragement in learning. My Lord, this is true, that I being here in the nation, and being sent over upon the occasions of the country, and not upon any design; but this I say, I cannot deny it, that after I came over, and had seen the state of England, in some measure I did stir, but by strong importunities, the ministers of London being deeper than I. I am very sorry to hear of my carriage towards the king; it is my great trouble. I beg pardon for my own folly and weakness. I thought God had a great controversy with the nation, and the Lord was displeased on all hands; that which some people took to, I did take unto; I went into the army; I saw at the beginning of it that corruptions grew among them. I suppose none can say I have gone aside from any orthodox truth of the Lord; and now to take off the scandal upon me, and to the business, let me beg of your Lordship, to consider whatever prejudices or revenge may take up men's hearts, there is a God that knows all; God hath a regard to the people of England. I look upon this nation as the cabinet of the world. That that doth concern the business is this, my Lord, that

after this time hither I came, and did bear witness to all the world, that there was amongst us something worse for the nation. I took advice of some great persons concerning the weightiness of it. I had neither malice nor mischief in my heart against the king; upon this I did engage so far, being invited. I went into the wars, and there I found very strange and several kinds of providences, as this day hath been seen. I do not deny but that I was active, but not to stir in a way that was not honourable. I challenge a great part of the nation to manifest my carriage among them; I shall make it good divers ways. I had so much respect to his majesty, particularly at *Windsor*, that I propounded to his majesty my thoughts, three ways to preserve himself from danger, which were good, as he was pleased to think, though they did not succeed, and the work died; as for malice, I had none in me. It is true, there was a difference amongst us; an army, and an army. I never had a groat or penny from *Oliver Cromwell* since I knew this place; I profess I have had no ends for honour and gain since I set foot upon this shore. I challenge any man that belonged to that party, whether they had not the same respect from me as my own party. I have not persecuted any with malice; I will only take off malice. I was so far from malice, that I have a certificate, if worth the reading, from one of the most eminent persons in the nation, to shew I had no malice. It is concerning the Marquis of Worcester, under his lady's hand, beginning with these words: '*I do here testify, that in all the sufferings of my husband, Mr. Peters was my great friend,*' &c. I have here a seal, (and then produced it) that the Earl of Norwich gave me to keep for his sake for saving his life, which I will keep as long as I live."

*Lord Chief Baron.* I am not willing at all to interrupt you, or hinder you, that which you speak of doing good services is not at all to the point; we do not question you for what good you have done, but for the evil you have done; I hope there is no malice in your heart, nor upon the court nor jury; we and they are upon our oaths, and you hear the matter alleged against you; pray come to the point.

Peters having nothing to urge farther in his defence, the jury after a little consultation, brought in a verdict of guilty. Very different are the accounts given of Hugh Peters's carriage and deportment at the place of execution; the royalists stating he went all the way from Newgate to Charing Cross on the hurdle like a sot, either picking the straws therein, or gnawing the fingers of his gloves, and ascended the ladder with the like apathy; but, after standing



a little while, he burst into a flood of tears, holding his hands before his eyes endeavouring to conceal his trepidation, the hangman, after checking him with the rope, in order to hasten his dispatch, at last turned him very unwillingly off the ladder.

Other writers inform us, he was made to sit within the rails of Charing Cross, in order to witness the execution of Mr. Cook, during which a person spoke to Peters, upbraiding him with the death of the king, bidding him (with opprobrious language) to repent; to whom he replied, "Friend, you do not well to trample upon a dying man, you are greatly mistaken, I had nothing to do in the death of the king."

When Cook was cut down, and brought to be quartered, one they called Colonel Turnet, called to the sheriff's men to bring Mr. Peters near, that he might see it; when the hangman came to him all besmeared in blood, and, rubbing his hands together, he (tauntingly) asked, come, how do you like this work? To whom he replied, I am not (I thank God) terrified at it, you may do your worst.

When he was going to execution, he looked about, and observing a person he knew, he gave him a piece of gold, (having first bent it), and desired him to go to the place where his daughter lodged, and to carry that to her as a token from him, and to let her know, that his heart was as full of comfort as it could be, and that before that piece should come to her hands, he should be with God in glory.

Being upon the ladder, he spoke to the sheriff, saying, "Sir, you have here slain one of the servants of God before mine eyes, and have made me to behold it, on purpose to terrify and discourage me, but God hath made it an ordinance to me for my strengthening and encouragement.

A night or two before he suffered, two of the episcopal clergy, reported to have been the king's chaplains, came to visit him, and endeavoured to persuade him to a repentance and recantation of his former activity in the parliament's cause, which they tried to enforce upon him by a promise of pardon from the king in case he would hearken to them: but he told them he had no cause in the least to repent of his adhering to that interest; but rather, that he had in the prosecution thereof done no more for God and his people, in these nations; and with civility dismissing those visitants, he applied himself to some other clergymen, more consonant with his way of thinking.

Hugh Peters was executed at Charing Cross, October 16th, 1660. On which occasion a spectator wrote the following lines :

“ See here the last, and best edition  
Of HUGH, the author of sedition ;  
So full of errors, 'twas not fit  
To read, till DUN corrected it ;  
But now 'tis perfect ; nay, far more,  
'Tis better bound than 'twas before ;  
And now I hope it is no sin,  
To say, rebellion took the swing ;  
For he that says, says much amiss,  
That HUGH an independent is.

FINIS.

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